What makes a politician persuasive?
A study of ideology, rhetoric and modality in speeches by Tony Blair and George W. Bush.

by
Annelén Takita A. Stenbakken

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To my mum and dad,
for all their love, support and encouragement
through many years of studies.

And a special thanks to Hilde Hasselgård for
knowledge, help and guidance.

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CDA	-	Critical Discourse Analysis
CM	-	Conceptual Metaphor
GWB	-	George W. Bush
MA	-	Modal auxiliary
RQ	-	Rhetorical question
SFG	-	Systemic Functional Grammar
SQ	-	Selected questions
TB	-	Tony Blair
WMD	-	Weapons of Mass Destruction
WTC	-	World Trade Center

Chapter 1

Introduction

A politician needs to be persuasive. If he does not possess the ability to persuade others, he will never become a great politician. The interesting question is what makes a person persuasive? Is the ability to persuade others a matter of personality and character, or is it due to a carefully selected number of rhetorical devices used to manipulate an audience? The aim of this thesis is to study a collection of speeches delivered by two successful politicians; Tony Blair, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (1997-2007), and George W. Bush, President of the United States (2000-2008). The term successful is here a subjective opinion, and one might raise the question of what makes a politician successful. I have chosen to consider these two successful, not based on their politics or actions as Prime Minister and President respectively, but based on the fact that they have been democratically elected and re-elected to fulfil these positions. The fact that these two politicians have managed to obtain such powerful positions should indicate that they are persuasive, and thus it should be interesting to study their speeches and techniques of persuasion.

1.1 Aim and scope

Language is possibly the most powerful weapon in a political campaign. It is our main means of communication. All people have ways of expressing themselves in order to communicate their beliefs and intentions. The present study does not presume to be able to give a complete revelation of the communication techniques of Tony Blair and George W. Bush (henceforth primarily referred to as Blair and Bush). However, it aspires to expose some of the techniques

which make Blair and Bush persuasive speakers. Although I expect that both Blair and Bush will show great rhetorical skills, this study will primarily investigate each speaker separately. Comparisons will occur in instances where this will shed light on the individual speaker's ability to persuade. The two corpora collected for this purpose consist of speeches and statements delivered by Blair and Bush. These will from now be referred to as the Blair corpus and the Bush corpus, respectively.

The research questions this study wishes to provide answers to are: What kinds of similarities and differences can be found in the linguistic choices and rhetorical devices used by two successful politicians? Is persuasion the result of manipulative use of language, or of an expression of personal beliefs and conviction? In order to study what makes Blair and Bush persuasive, this study will focus on rhetoric and rhetorical devices. In addition to focusing on traditional rhetorical devices such as three-part lists, contrastive pairs and figurative language, this study will focus on what role modality and word choice play in a speaker's ability to persuade an audience. The relationship between language and meaning is more than just the relationship between the individual words and their meanings. When we are reading a text, we can sometimes interpret meaning 'between the lines'. A corpus study can reveal how linguistic choices influence the message conveyed in a speech, or texts in general. In addition to exploring the topic, this study aspires to illustrate how linguistic choices contribute to the revelation of the speaker's true values and beliefs.

1.2 Material

On 11 September 2001, four American planes were hijacked. Two of these planes were crashed into the Word Trade Center in New York, hereby referred to as WTC. The third hit

the Pentagon in Washington, while the fourth went down in a field unable to hit its intended target. These events shocked not only a nation, but an entire world. The reason why these events have been etched into our minds, and will be carefully written down in history books is that thousands of lives were lost in an attack which very few could have imagined. But more importantly, it is because that Tuesday morning changed our view of the world. These events resulted in an international campaign against terrorism, including a war in Afghanistan and Iraq. Because these events made such an enormous impact on the world, and are the most important common events in the premiership and presidency of Blair and Bush respectively, they are the main subject in both corpora.

1.2.1 Speech collection

The texts which make up the Blair corpus and Bush corpus have been taken from the official websites of No. 10 Downing Street[1] and the White House[2] respectively. These websites claim to provide the speeches and statements as originally delivered with only minor adjustments. The official website of Number 10 Downing Street takes the following reservations: 'Sometimes it is necessary to edit the transcripts. This is either because in accordance with long-standing practice under the Ministerial and Civil Service codes, government websites cannot carry party political content, or because the audio quality has made it impossible to transcribe (http://www.number-10.gov.uk/output/Page9199.asp)'. The political speeches which I am studying are mostly prepared in advance. On the website for number 10 Downing Street (http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page10.asp), it is stated that the speeches 'are pre-prepared and usually given to an invited audience at a major domestic or international event'. However, this site differentiates between speeches and statements. Statements are described

[1] www.number-10.gov.uk.com
[2] www.whitehouse.gov

as often being ‘given spontaneously by the PM [Prime Minister] - usually to journalists with a view to addressing a wider audience - but without a question and answer session (ibid.)’. Since the description on the website only confirms that statements merely ‘often’ are spontaneous, this expresses the possibility that they may at times be prepared in advance. This in addition to the fact that the website for the White House does not give a clear definition of the difference between speeches and statements has led me to treat them the same way. I will therefore no longer make a distinction between speeches and statements, and both will be referred to as speeches unless a distinction between the two is considered necessary.

Since the corpora I am using for my study are considerably smaller than the corpora which are normally used in connection with linguistic analysis, I had to be extra careful in my selection of texts.

I have selected the texts based on the principle which Hillier calls the ‘comparative principle’. ‘This principle requires that texts to be compared should be “matched” in as many respects as possible… (Hillier 2004:2)’. As mentioned above, the main subject of both corpora are the same, the events on 11 September 2001. With both corpora concentrating on the same subject, any differences in word choice cannot be blamed on differences in subject matter. In order for the two corpora to be even more parallel, the speeches have all been taken from the period between 11 September 2001 and the end of December 2005.

Furthermore, it is important for the study that the texts are similar in form. They should be either speeches or statements. Neither corpus includes press conferences. However some statements were followed by a question and answer sequence. Such sequences have been excluded from the corpus. The texts are only monologues delivered by the speaker in

question. This has been a deliberate choice in order to prevent any other people from influencing the speaker. Questions from journalists could colour their responses and possibly guide them in directions they would not otherwise take. In this way the speech only shows the style of the speaker and possibly his ghost-writers.[3] Joint press conferences with other nations and national leaders have also been excluded from the corpora to prevent the presence of other leaders influencing the speeches. However, a speech is not a static monologue when it is delivered in to a live audience. Although the audience does not determine the subject matter, reactions such as laughter and applause may influence the speaker and his delivery. In speeches where interpersonal communication such as laughter and applause has been transcribed, these have been placed in brackets and are not included in the word count. A criterion was that all speeches have been delivered to an audience the speaker wishes to persuade and gather support from. The speeches in the corpora are either given to the public in a national broadcast, or at a public event. A small number of speeches have been delivered to the Congress, Parliament or members of the United Nations. Because of this criterion, speeches and statements directed at soldiers and the families of soldiers in Iraq and Afghanistan have been excluded.

Since this is a 'comparative' study of the persuasive abilities of Blair and Bush it was important that the Blair corpus and the Bush corpus were of approximately equal size. The size was defined based on word count, rather than the number of speeches. However, the two corpora both in the end consist of 19 speeches (cf. table 1.1). A more detailed list of the speeches included in the Blair corpus and the Bush corpus are given in appendices 1 and 2 respectively.

[3] A ghost-writer is a person who is hired to write material for another person, for example a politician, without being given credit for the work.

The tool used in most of the computational corpus investigations for this thesis is WordSmith, a program which allows the user to investigate different linguistic aspects of the corpus of choice. A brief description of the individual tools and their abilities will be given in section 1.3.2.

Table 1. 1: Word count in the Blair and Bush corpora[4]

The Blair Corpus

	Speech	Word count
1	[TB 11.09.01]	460
2	[TB 14.09.01]	1722
3	[TB 25.09.01]	756
4	[TB 07.10.01]	1259
5	[TB 13.11.01]	603
6	[TB 14.11.01]	1894
7	[TB 10.09.02]	2826
8	[TB 24.09.02]	1474
9	[TB 08.11.02]	772
10	[TB 03.02.03]	1476
11	[TB 25.02.03]	1839
12	[TB 18.03.03]	4863
13	[TB 20.03.03]	671
14	[TB 18.07.03]	3290
15	[TB 14.12.03]	560
16	[TB 05.03.04]	4798
17	[TB 07.07.05]	461
18	[TB 11.07.05]	1546
19	[TB 14.09.05]	669
	Total	**31939**

The Bush Corpus

	Speech	Word count
1	[GWB 11.09.01]	594
2	[GWB 07.10.01]	971
3	[GWB 08.11.01]	2943
4	[GWB 10.11.01]	2483
5	[GWB 11.12.01]	484
6	[GWB 06.06.02]	1515
7	[GWB 11.09.02]	906
8	[GWB 07.10.02]	3350
9	[GWB 06.02.03]	1053
10	[GWB 01.03.03]	621
11	[GWB 19.03.03]	581
12	[GWB 22.03.03]	471
13	[GWB 07.09.03]	2277
14	[GWB 23.09.03]	2845
15	[GWB 14.12.03]	500
16	[GWB 19.03.04]	2343
17	[GWB 10.05.04]	1583
18	[GWB 07.12.05]	4644
19	[GWB 18.12.05]	2262
	Total	**32426**

1.2.2 Political speeches as a genre

Political speeches and statements which are delivered as speech to a public audience, represents a genre which lies between written and spoken discourse. Hilary Hillier defines the genre as 'the speaking of what has been written to be spoken (Hillier 2004:120)'. Tone of voice and gestures are part of the overall effect of a speech delivery and contribute to the

[4] The texts have been given names consisting of the initials of the speaker, and the date of the delivery.

audience's impression of the speaker's persuasiveness. Although I have listened to the auditory versions of the speeches and statements, these will not be discussed in this thesis.

When we know that both Blair and Bush often use ghost-writers, how can we discuss their persuasiveness? How do we know that they have not simply hired talented speech writers? The truth is that we do not know how much of each individual speech that is written by the speaker himself. What we do know is that the speaker has to take full ownership of both the contents and the delivery of the speeches. The speakers both read through and make comments and changes to their manuscripts. Since other possible writers remain unknown, the speaker is the only known author of the speech that is delivered, and the final party to influence the end-result through his delivery.

1.3 Method

1.3.1 Corpus linguistics

The term corpus linguistics does not refer to a linguistic paradigm, but rather a way of conducting linguistic research. In order to carry out a proper discussion of corpus linguistics, we first have to settle on a definition of what a corpus is. The Expert Advisory Group on Language Engineering Standards (EAGLES) uses the term *corpus* 'to refer to any collection of linguistic data, whether or not it is selected or structured according to some design criteria'. Thus a corpus can contain 'any text type, including not only prose, newspapers as well as poetry, drama , etc. but also word list, dictionaries etc.[5] Meyer restricted this definition and considered a corpus to be 'a collection of texts or parts of texts upon which some general

[5] Corpus Encoding Standard': http://www.cs.vassar.edu/CES/CES1-0.html

linguistic analysis can be conducted (2002:xi)'. My collections of political speeches and statements constitute corpora according to both definitions.

If we are to view corpus linguistics as a methodology, we have to be careful of how we create the corpora. Although it is important to have a definite plan for what kind of texts one wishes to include in a corpus, we must not forget that 'the creation of a corpus is a "cyclical" process, requiring constant re-evaluation as the corpus is being compiled (Biber (1993:256) quoted in Meyer (2002:32))'. When it comes to corpus size, it is a general understanding that the bigger the corpus, the better. However, the internal structure of a corpus can sometimes justify corpora of a modest size. In the case of my corpora, the size has been greatly restricted by the fact that each corpus is a collection of speeches and statements given by one single speaker, as well as the fact that the genre of political speech affects the size of each individual text. A small corpus will also make it more manageable to carry out the manual analysis needed to investigate some of the linguistic features mentioned in chapter 2.

'Corpora vary in terms of the length of the individual text samples that they contain (Meyer 2002:38)'.Even though the texts in my corpora are short, they are complete texts. Speeches which were followed by a press conference are considered complete texts since the speech sequence of the text is completed. Also, other speeches could have been followed by a question and answer sequence which have been catalogued separately in the individual archives. (Here the archives refer to 'www.number-10.gov.uk.com' and 'www.whitehouse.gov'). The length of the individual texts is a result of genre.

Biber concluded that '1,000 word excerpts are lengthy enough to provide valid and reliable information on the distribution of frequently occurring linguistic items (Meyer 2002:39)'.

However, ‘Biber found that infrequently occurring linguistic items cannot be reliably studied in short excerpts (ibid.)’. This does not influence my study, since I am investigating a particular person’s persuasiveness within complete texts. The speakers are supposed to be persuasive every time they make a speech, regardless of the length of the individual speech.

The two corpora that I have created are what Meyer (2002) calls ‘special purpose corpora’. These are corpora which are created with the intention of using them for specific uses. In order for my investigations to be relevant, it was important for me to select the individual texts carefully. Since my study concentrates on the persuasion techniques of Blair and Bush, I wanted to create two separate corpora; one with texts from Blair, and one with texts from Bush. A brief description of the choices and decisions I had to make in order to create a satisfactory corpus for each of the two speakers was given in section 1.2.1.

1.3.2 Data retrieval and processing.

The data was partly retrieved using the functions of WordSmith and partly through manual search. The manual search was at times assisted by the search function in Microsoft Office Word. The rhetorical devices were mostly retrieved through manual search since the retrieval of these elements relies on recognition of metaphorical language use and interpretation.

Many of the computational investigations, such as the word choice analysis in section 3.2, have been conducted using WordSmith. WordSmith is a very versatile tool ‘that can calculate word frequencies, find collocations, create word lists and compare texts, among other things (Dypedahl and Hasselgård 2004:29)’. The WordSmith tool called WordList allows users to find the most frequent words in a text and/or a corpus consisting of several texts. The

WordList function can produce either alphabetically ordered single word lists or frequency ordered word lists. The majority of the most frequent words are grammatical words. These are the words which glue the text together, but they are not particularly interesting since they occur in most texts. Instead we are usually interested in the lexical words which reveal the texts' subject-matters. KeyWords is a WordSmith tool with the purpose to 'locate and identify key word in a given text (Scott 2004-2007:5).[6]' In order to do so it compares the given text to a reference text. The reference text is usually a large corpus. In this study the reference corpora used are the FLOB[7] and FROWN[8]. The KeyWords function compares the frequency lists of the text and the reference corpus and produces a list of key words. This list consists of the words which occur unusually often or seldom in the text compared to the reference corpus, based on the size of text and corpus (Stubbs 2002:129). The tool called Concord searches through the texts and finds all occurrences of a chosen search word and displays them as a concordance**.** It can also produce a list of collocates of the search word.

1.3.3 Quantitative vs. qualitative analysis.

Corpus analysis can be conducted by using qualitative or quantitative methods, or possibly by a combination of the two. Although these two types of data analysis form different perspectives on corpus data, they are not necessarily incompatible.[9] In fact, use of quantitative and qualitative analysis can complement each other based on the fact that they have different advantages and disadvantages.

[6] http://www.lexically.net/downloads/version4/wordsmith.pdf
[7] Freiburg – Lancaster – Oslo – Bergen corpus (British English from 1991) cf. Meyer (2002:21)
[8] Freiburg Brown corpus (American English from 1991) cf. Meyer (2002:21)
[9] http://bowland-files.lancs.ac.uk/monkey/ihe/liguistics/corpus3/3qual.htm

The advantages of quantitative analysis are that it produces statistical data. The data is then processed and explained with the intent to describe what is observed. Quantitative analysis tends to process more information than qualitative analysis and generate results that can be generalised and describe language beyond the scope of the analysis. The disadvantage is that classifications are either/or, and subtle differences in language are often lost. Quantitative favour frequently occurring phenomena over rare phenomena.

Qualitative analyses are more concerned with complete and detailed description and interpretation, than with the frequencies of linguistic features. Rare phenomena are thought to be just as interesting as common phenomena. Instead of trying to fit the results into categories, qualitative analysis acknowledges ambiguity. The main disadvantage is that the findings may have limited significance beyond the actual study due to its lack of interest in the statistical occurrences of a phenomenon.

This study uses a combination of qualitative and quantitative analysis, due to the nature of the different elements that are analysed, i.e. some rhetorical devices can be counted and categorised, while others require recognition and interpretation. The study is primarily based on qualitative analysis since it focuses on the use and effects of rhetorical devices and techniques in two text corpora, but it complements the qualitative analysis with the quantitative findings where possible. Quantitative analysis can add dimension to parts of the study due to its ability to determine the extent of linguistic features. Likewise, qualitative analyses are used to supplement quantitative analyses by seeking interpretations and explanations for quantitative findings.

1.4 Thesis outline

Chapter 1 – 'Introduction' introduces the theme of the study as well as presents the aim and scope. This introductory chapter presents the methods used in the retrieval and structuring of data. In this chapter there is also a description of the material used in this study. It presents the background for the construction of the two corpora; the Blair and Bush corpora.

Chapter 2 gives an account of the 'Theoretical background' behind the three main fields of analysis in this study: ideology, rhetoric and modality. It introduces the tools of analysis and describes how they will be used to analyse their prescribed field.

Chapter 3 examines expressions of 'Ideology' in the Blair and Bush corpora by investigating use of metaphors, metonymy and analogy, as well a brief study of word choices.

Chapter 4 gives a presentation of a few selected rhetorical devices used in the two corpora, as well as an insight into the possible effect of these.

Chapter 5 presents different meanings expressed through modal auxiliaries, in addition to explaining how modality reveals the speakers' commitment to their own speeches, their beliefs and values.

Chapter 6, the 'Conclusion', gives a summary of the findings of the individual parts of the study and compares them with the aim to uncover patterns.

Chapter 2

Theoretical Background

The aim of this chapter is to place this thesis within a system of language functions which affect my approach to a corpus study of political speeches. This thesis moves across several different areas of language function including ideology, rhetoric and modality. I will first address the subject of ideology, a subject which does not play an important part in this thesis by itself. However, it became impossible for me to study rhetorical devices and expressions of attitude without referring to the role of ideology in language. Secondly, I will look at rhetoric and define it as well as give a brief introduction to the most important rhetorical devices which will play a role in the analysis. The third section introduces different views on modality and introduces the theoretical background.

2.1 Ideology

Ideology is a concept which has traditionally been associated with politics. Today it has also become an important aspect of language study. Ideology as part of language studies derives from the theory of language as a carrier of values and beliefs. The concept of ideology has evolved since it first emerged meaning 'the study of ideas'. This brief introduction focuses on ideology as a set of subconscious values and beliefs which are transmitted by establishing them as 'common sense'.

Within the direction of language study, *ideology* is one of the most difficult words to define adequately within a paragraph or two. Fairclough describes *ideology* as one of those words

which have so many possible meanings that it is nearly without meaning (Fairclough 2001:77). *The Collins Cobuild English dictionary* defines an *ideology* as 'a set of beliefs, especially the political beliefs on which people, parties, or countries base their actions'. In his book *Ideology*, Terry Eagleton presents a list of 17 various definitions of *ideology* (1991:1-2). Some of these definitions complement each other, some contradict each other. This illustrates how difficult it is to settle on one satisfactory definition. This study will concentrate on the definition given by Haynes (1992:118), who defines *ideology* as the general attitude a person has towards life, whether or not the person has made a conscious philosophical choice. This attitude is considered to be the 'natural' or 'common sense' approach to life based on the person's background and experience.

2.1.1. Ideology according to Norman Fairclough.

Norman Fairclough is concerned with the relationship between language and power. As the founder of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth referred to as CDA), he belongs to the Critical Linguistics tradition and focuses on how ideologies are accepted as common sense because they are embedded in features of discourse (Fairclough 2001:64). CDA is a branch within discourse analysis which deals with social and political issues and how they are expressed through language use. Fairclough refers to the sociologist Harold Garfinkel who proposes that the decisions we make on an everyday basis are founded on assumptions and expectations which are based in our subconsciousness. The power of ideologies is linked to their ability to become part of our common sense background and form the basis of our everyday decisions (ibid). Fairclough refers to the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci who views ideology as an 'implicit philosophy' which is backgrounded and taken for granted (2001:70). Fairclough claims that 'ideology is most effective when its workings are least visible. If one becomes aware that a particular aspect of common sense is sustaining power

inequalities at one's own expense, it ceases to *be* common sense, and may cease to have the capacity to sustain power inequalities, i.e. to function ideologically (2001:71)'.

Chapter 4 of Norman Fairclough's *Language and Power* addresses the subject of 'gap-filling'. Our everyday conversations are full of 'gaps' which we fill in based on assumptions. Our abilities to fill in the gaps illustrate that we are part of a community, in other words, that we belong. The more mechanical the 'gap-filling' becomes in our attempt at creating a coherent text, the less likely it is to become visible. If we stop noticing the assumptions, the ideology is hidden underneath the surface and becomes increasingly protected (ibid.).

Ideological diversity is another subject addressed by Fairclough. He claims that the state of social relationships and social struggle determines the level of diversity. Ideology is everywhere. Even definitions of ideology are affected by ideology. The meaning of words depends on the ideological frameworks the words occur in. Fairclough is concerned with the concept of naturalization (v. 2.1.2). He explains the concept through the word *ideology*. Ideology is, as mentioned earlier, defined in different ways based on different ideologies. If ideology suddenly only had one meaning, that would entail that one ideological point of view had gained dominance. 'The fixed meaning would in this sense be an effect of power – in fact the sort of ideological effect I have called naturalization (2001:78)'. Fairclough assumes that when words have been given a fixed dictionary meaning, they have been the subject of naturalization (2001:79). In order to reveal the ideologies that form the background in our society, Fairclough suggests using CDA.

2.1.2 Ideology according to Terry Eagleton.

The unveiling of ideologies in societies is largely connected to the demystification of ideologies. This is connected to Fairclough's claim mentioned earlier, that ideologies are strongest when people are not aware of them. In his book Ideology (1991), Terry Eagleton claims that in order to demystify ideologies, we have to believe that 'nobody is ever wholly mystified (ibid:xiv)', but that even oppressed people have hopes and desires that their situation will change. Eagleton continues to state that ideological views have to be taught. A person will not conform to an ideological view that he/she is a lower life form unless he/she is taught that this is the facts. It is only when taught to be a lower life form that the person starts to prove the truthfulness of the ideological framework (1991: xiv-xv).

Like Fairclough, Eagleton has difficulty providing a simple definition of *ideology*. He continues to say that ideology is concerned with the legitimation of a dominant power and provides us with six strategies of legitimation (1991:5-6):

1. Promoting beliefs: The dominant power needs to emphasize the importance of the values and beliefs their domination is based on.
2. Naturalizing beliefs: It is important for the dominant power that beliefs become common sense, and are integrated into the world views and become part of the subconscious.
3. Universalising beliefs: In order for a group to promote their values and interests it is important that these are portrayed as the values and interests of 'all humanity (1991:56-57)'. This is not merely a question of convincing others that the group's values and interests are universal. In order to sell their values and interests, the group needs to package them in a way that makes it possible for others to accept them. Thus

the values and interests themselves will change. 'It is a question… of how the group or class describes itself to itself, not just of how it sells itself to others (ibid.)'.

4. Denigration of challenging ideas: This strategy is based on taking away the credibility of any other ideas, values and beliefs which may challenge the values and beliefs of the dominant power.
5. Excluding rival forms of thought: By presenting contradicting ideological frameworks as illogical and invalid, the dominant power is able to exclude these as rivals.
6. Obscuring social reality: By not acknowledging certain selected aspects of social reality, the dominant power is able to protect their own ideology.

2.1.3 Ideology and Language

What is the connection between language and ideology? Why is it important to study ideologies expressed through language?

As Thompson and Hunston explains it: 'Identifying "what the writer thinks" tells us about more than just one person's ideas. Every act of evaluation expresses a communal value-system, and every act of evaluation goes towards building up that value-system (2000:6)'. This value system is a part of the ideology which lies behind every text, and dominates the society which the text is a product of. Thus, the identification of the writer's thoughts and beliefs reaches further than the writer and reveals the ideology of the society. Noam Chomsky agrees with Thompson and Hunston and says that language use is one of the few areas where one can study the inner workings of a person and achieve results which reach beyond superficial insight (Chomsky, Junkerman and Masakazu 2003:37). It is interesting to study the ideologies that motivate word choices. Politicians are often able to persuade their audience that what they are saying is true. However, we are never told what ideologies motivate their

choices. Unless we as listeners investigate the ideologies which motivate the speaker, we cannot be sure that we in fact agree and support the value-system of the speaker, or whether we have been persuaded or possibly manipulated so that we agree with something that goes against our own value-system. In other words, just because we agree with the logic of a person's arguments and can support their conclusions; the ideologies that have inspired these arguments might contradict our own values. Supporting arguments and conclusions founded on an ideology that contradicts our own could possibly result in a hidden modification of our own values and beliefs.

The relationship between language and ideology is illustrated in an example taken from American politics. After the events on 11 September 2001, the American people wanted to avenge the terrorist attacks, and fight terrorism, the new evil threatening the world. The military operations in Afghanistan in October 2001 were supported by a majority of the population. When American and British forces invaded Iraq in March 2003, over 50 per cent of the population supported the President's decision[10]. Four and a half years later, in December 2007, the majority of American people wish that the US withdrew most of its troops from Iraq and Afghanistan. CNN/Pollingreport.com informs that only 31 per cent (less than 1/3 of the population) support military actions in Iraq.[11] After increasing numbers of American casualties, an unsuccessful hunt for Al Qaida and bin Laden, and an unsupported accusation of WMD towards Iraq, people began to question the motives (and thus implicitly the ideology) behind the military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq. As the voices expressing dissent towards the military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan became louder, the arguments by Bush lost their persuasive power. Support has begun to crumble. Questions were asked.

[10] http://www.pollingreport.com/iraq2.htm
[11] http://www.pollingreport.com/iraq.htm

Had the people been manipulated? Did they not share the same motives as the government? People have begun distancing themselves from the unified *we* referring to a united US.

This chapter focuses on the ability of rhetorical devices to convey ideology. However, since language itself is a carrier of language. We do not need techniques in our every day use of language in order to convey our beliefs and values. They are expressed through our choice of words. It is therefore suggested that word frequencies can reveal ideology because those topics we find important will be reflected in how often we mention elements connected to them. Therefore, the study of expressions of ideology can also benefit from an analysis of word frequencies.

2.2 Rhetoric

Rhetoric is an old communication technique which was developed by the Greeks in ancient Greece. It was considered an important subject in western schools until the 17th century, when rhetoric was associated with empty words, deception and manipulation. For some time rhetoric was a forgotten art form (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992:4ff).

Rhetoric is once again considered a useful instrument of persuasion. Because we are constantly surrounded by information, and people are always trying to convince us that they know best, knowledge of rhetoric may be more important than ever. Plato was sceptical of rhetoric. He felt that it was important to differentiate between true and false rhetoric. False rhetoric being more concerned with what is probable than what is true.[12] Plato believed that rhetoric could function as a device for people with insincere motives to manipulate an audience (Beard 2000:35). Plato was right. There are people who wish to use rhetoric to

[12] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhetoric

manipulate other people. Language is a powerful weapon. But we cannot let the fear of manipulation keep us from developing skills as powerful speakers. Besides, a study of rhetoric will in addition to sharpen ones own persuasion techniques, make us better at recognizing rhetorical devices in others (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992:1).

Introductory books about rhetoric tell us that classical rhetoric consisted of five processes (Johansen 2002:32):

1. inventio → The process of finding the right arguments.
2. dispositio → The process of organizing the arguments.
3. elocutio → The process of deciding on a style in which to present the arguments.
4. memoria → The process of memorizing the speech.
5. actio → The process of delivering the speech.

However, it is the last of these five processes which traditionally was considered the most important phase. While the other processes functioned as preparation, it was in this final phase that the speech was realized (ibid.). Today, rhetorical studies such as this investigation often ignore the last phase. The speeches are regarded as texts.

2.2.1 Tools of rhetoric; Logos, Ethos and Pathos

Aristotle, who was a student of Plato's, believed that rhetoric provides us with three tools when it comes to persuading an audience:

1. persuasion through personality and stance. (Ethos)
2. persuasion through emotions. (Pathos)
3. persuasion through thoughts and reason. (Logos)

2.2.1.1. Ethos

'When Aristotle used the word [ethos] in the context of rhetoric, he meant the "proof" brought about by the character or virtue of the speaker (revealed in his speech) (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992:19)'. Stance is a matter of how you express your opinions. Lynette Hunter, according to Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992), distinguishes between positive and negative rhetoric. While positive rhetoric reveals values, negative rhetoric hides values (1992:22).

Although it is important for a politician to make a conscious decision as to how he wishes to portray his[13] *self*. There are many ways to express personality, and not all of these may be the best means to persuade an audience. It is therefore important for the speaker to know how he wishes to be perceived. In order to communicate personality to the audience it is important to identify with the audience and impress them with individuality (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992:9). A good way to express personality may be humour. By using humour, a speaker may not only be able to defuse tension, but also show personality. Humour can be used to show that the speaker is able to not to take himself too seriously, or perhaps point out the obvious irony in a situation. When used correctly, humour can express the speaker's 'warmth of thought' as expressed by Walter Nash (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992:23).

Laughter is something which is often shared among friends, and by laughing with the audience, the speaker may decrease the distance between himself and the audience. However, as Cockcroft and Cockcroft points out, the use of humour as a rhetorical device requires 'responsible management' (1992:24). However, humour can backfire at the speaker by making the audience view him as ridiculous and thus loose respect for him and his message.

[13] Speakers and politicians will primarily be referred to as *he* since both speakers in this study are male politicians.

The speaker must also be careful not to alienate his audience. If they feel that the speaker is laughing *at* them instead of *with* them, they will most likely take offence.

Humour can also be abused as a rhetorical device. By abused I mean that the speaker can use humour to laugh at another person or a person's arguments. Making jokes on the other person's expense or belittling them. This draws attention away from the facts and undermines the relationship between speaker and audience by making the audience accept something that is not based on thorough argumentation. All the same, humour is just one of many ways of expressing ethos.

Another way of expressing ethos is through the use of personal pronouns. It is the most important way the speaker presents himself towards the audience (Beard 2000:46). For example, in choosing between the first person singular pronoun *I* and the first person plural pronoun *we*, the speaker decides to what extent he wishes to be personally responsible for the statement, and to what extent he wishes to share responsibility with his audience (ibid.). By choosing *I*, the speaker takes full responsibility and will either receive full credit, or all the blame depending on the reception of his statement. *We*, on the other hand, will divide the responsibility across more parties and the portions of credit or blame will be dependant on the number of responsible parties. Different uses of the personal pronouns *I* and *we* in the two corpora are among the topics discussed in section 4.6 on personal pronouns.

2.2.1.2 Pathos

Persuasion through emotions is a much used rhetorical technique. A rhetorical device we often come across in everyday life is what Cockcroft and Cockcroft calls 'The model of testimony (1992: 69)'. Although usually considered to be an expression of logos, the model of

testimony can also be used to express pathos. As we shall see in section 4.1, the effects of testimonies are dependant on its utilization. We know the model of testimony from advertising and infomercials where someone says that they have used a product and can testify that the product keeps its promises. This is a very persuasive technique which makes it easy to manipulate an unsuspecting audience. Nevertheless, this technique has lost some of its power due to overuse in certain areas. In order for it to be persuasive instead of alienating the audience, it has to be delivered in a highly believable way.

2.2.1.3 Logos

Logos envelops the arguments used to persuade the audience. A speaker wishes to convey information to the audience, and the structuring of arguments is one of the elements that contribute to the speech's overall ability to persuade the audience. After convincing the audience of his personality and stance, and appealing to their emotions, the speaker uses logical arguments (logos) as the final stage of persuasion.

2.2.1.4 Ethos, Pathos and Logos in the political speeches

Among politicians today, ethos may be the most crucial tool. If a speaker does not have credibility it does not matter how correct or well-spoken he is. The audience will not be receptive to what the speaker is trying to convey.

I wish to give an example from the US presidential election of 2000 (Johansen 2002:73). In the fall of 2000, George W. Bush ran for President of the United States alongside the democratic candidate, Al Gore. Gore had been Vice President under Clinton (1992-2000) during a period of strong economy, decrease in unemployment and decline in crime rates.

Nothing suggested that the people of the United States wanted a change. Bush on the other hand only offered tax relief to the wealthiest people of the United States. Everyone believed that this would be an easy victory for Al Gore. Gore was clearly the strongest candidate on paper, with more experience and better training as a candidate. Nevertheless, the election of 2000 was a close heat between the two candidates. Bush was eventually ruled the winner with a majority of a couple of hundred votes. The question is; How? How was Bush able to win, and Gore able to lose? Bush was hardly a rhetorical prodigy. On the contrary, he has always been portrayed in the media as awkward. He has always been prone to express himself in a clumsy and unflattering manner. The answer can probably be found within the area of ethos. While Gore was a strong candidate with a lot of knowledge, he was not able to convey his personality. In contrast, Bush was able to be himself. He showed less confidence when addressing the facts of different topics. But unlike Gore he was very convincing as himself. His personality gave him credibility. And his credibility won him the election.

Political credibility is a matter of believing what you say. If the audience believes that the speaker is lying, or withholding information, they will not believe him. The relationship between the speaker and audience is like all other relationships ultimately based on trust. According to Johansen (2002:71) the credible politician cannot deliberately deceive the audience, nor can he be dishonest towards himself. In other words, a credible politician needs to be in possession of both sincerity and authenticity (ethos) (cf. 2.2.1.1).

2.2.2 Rhetorical devices

Section 2.2.2 gives a brief introduction of rhetorical devices which, in addition to other devices discussed in chapter 2, have been analysed in the Blair and Bush corpora. The findings will be discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

2.2.2.1 Metaphor

Metaphors are traditionally associated with literary and poetic language. Many are under the impression that metaphors are a matter of colourful language. They believe that metaphors are simply a way to liven up our language, and that metaphors are in fact superfluous in daily life. But metaphors are deeply imbedded in our language. The use of metaphors in the English language is not merely a matter of stylistics. 'Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action (Lakoff and Johnson 1990:3)'. The human brain uses metaphors in order to understand the world, and this is reflected in our communication. Zoltan Kövecses explains the thought process by using an example of how native speakers of English tend to talk about life (2002:3). Expressions like *reach the end of the road* and *going through a stage* are often used to refer to phases of our lives. These expressions, and many similar expressions, were originally used to refer to journeys. Kövecses concludes that 'speakers of English make extensive use of the domain of journey to think about the highly abstract and elusive concept of life' (ibid: 3-4). He is right. We do not only refer to life by using concepts of journey in our speech, but we even think about life in terms of concepts of journeys.

Within cognitive linguistics we refer to metaphors such as LIFE IS A JOURNEY as conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphor is defined as' understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Kövecses 2002:4)'. When we talk about conceptual metaphors we differentiate between source domain and target domain. The source domain is the conceptual domain we use to express another domain. The target domain is the conceptual domain we wish to understand. The fact that we think of one concept in terms of another concept shows that there are similarities between the two concepts. This means that concept A has a set of systematic correspondences with concept B. We refer to such correspondences as

mappings. Every time we create a conceptual metaphor, we decide which of the concepts features that should be emphasized, and which features we wish to hide.

In the example LIFE IS A JOURNEY, *life* is the target domain and *journey* is the source domain. Metaphors are able to help us become aware of similarities we have never noticed before. When we choose to compare life with a journey we emphasize the fact that both life and a journey have a beginning and an end. At the same time we chose to ignore other features.

A type of metaphor which frequently occurs in language is personification. This is the process where 'human qualities are given to non-human entities (Kövecses 2002:35)'.

Example: Time will tell.

In the example above, the non-human entity *time* has been given the human quality of speech. By giving *time* a human quality, *time* is understood as a person, and is thus personified.

The power of metaphors lies in their ability to manipulate the listeners by using the listeners' own emotions and associations. If the metaphors are subtle or well established you might not even understand why the speaker is appealing to your emotions.

The conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS A DISEASE is one of several ways in which the opponent of the coalition forces (terrorism) is portrayed in the description of the war against terrorism in the Blair and Bush corpora. *Disease* is the source domain used to understand *terrorism* (the target domain). By comparing these two domains we are able to transfer our understanding that '*disease* is an enemy we have to fight in order to restore our health' to the domain of terrorism thus '*terrorism* is an enemy we have to fight in order to restore our

world'. As a result of the conceptual metaphor we understand that fighting terrorism is a necessity.

2.2.2.2 Metonymy

Metonymy is the process where 'we are using one entity to refer to another that is related to it (Lakoff and Johnson 1990:35)'. Although metaphor and metonymy can appear to be very similar, Lakoff and Johnson define them as two very different processes (1990:36). Metaphors are used to understand one concept by comparing it to another. Thus the primary function of metaphors is understanding. While the primary function of metonymy is reference.

Example: I have read Lakoff and Johnson.

This is an example of metonymy since it is not possible to read *Lakoff and Johnson* since this refers to two people. What we can read, are *the writings of Lakoff and Johnson*, thus *Lakoff and Johnson* is an entity related to *the writings of Lakoff and Johnson*.

Synecdoche is a traditional rhetorical device where a part of an entity represents the whole entity, or potentially that the whole represents the part. Both Lakoff and Johnson (1990) and Kövecses (2002) refer to synecdoche as a special case of metonymy. In this study, examples of synecdoche will be discussed in connection with other forms of metonymy, but referred to as synecdoche.

Example: Australia is one of the world's five continents.

Australia is a country in the continent called Oceania. In other words, Australia (the part) is used to refer to Oceania (the whole).

2.2.2.3 Analogy

We are familiar with the proverbs 'those who don't know their history are doomed to repeat it', and 'history repeats itself'. Sometimes such sayings can be useful for people trying to 'spin' the reputation of something. By comparing a current event to a previous event, an expert at public relations is able to determine how we are going to perceive the current event. PR-experts choose which facts to highlight, and which it is preferable not to draw attention to. Sometimes politicians need stronger rhetorical devices than metaphor and metonymy. In such cases they turn to analogy. Analogy is a large scale comparison where one concept is understood by comparing it to another well-known concept (Beard 2000:27). This is a powerful rhetorical device which we learn to use at an early age.

George Bush senior's use of analogy during the first Gulf war

'The construction of full similarity depends on all of the basic steps in using analogies: selecting a source analogy, mapping the source to the target, evaluating the analogical inferences to assess whether they need to be adapted (or rejected altogether), and learning something more general by using the source and target as examples (Holyoak and Thagard, 1996:101)'.

After the invasion of Kuwait, President George Bush Sr. launched a campaign where he compared Saddam Hussain to Adolf Hitler (Holyoak and Thagard, 1996:101).The comparison of the Gulf War to World War II got a lot of attention in the media. Even if you only get people to notice miniscule similarities between the Gulf War and WWII, and between Saddam Hussein and Hitler, you have made great progress in raising support in a campaign against Saddam Hussein. At least if you expect people in general to share the view that Hitler was a terrible man who committed terrible crimes against human beings and needed to be

stopped. Hitler was a ruthless dictator, and by comparing Saddam Hussein to Hitler some negative qualities are more or less automatically transferred. Thus, people are more likely to view Saddam Hussein as a ruthless dictator, and justify the invasion of Kuwait. The more similarities one is able to find between the Gulf war and WWII, the more justifiable it makes the invasion of Kuwait. As Beard (2000:28) puts it 'by analogy we conclude that since objects of the two kinds have certain things in common, they may have other things in common as well'. Beard continues 'the "strength" of an analogy depends very much on the degree of similarity between the objects being compared and whether they are similar in ways that are relevant to the argument being made (2000:28)'. Time has shown that a WWII analogy was an effective strategy. For Bush Sr. 'President Bush [Sr] was able to convince most of the American public, as well as members of Congress and leaders of the western nations, that the World War II analogy was sound (Holyoak and Thagard, 1996:103)'. Analogy is a strong weapon which can be used to 'systematically influence people's inferences (Holyoak and Thagard, 1996:106)'.

In addition to the WWII analogy, a Vietnam analogy is often used in order to describe foreign policies. Unlike the WWII analogy, the Vietnam analogy is usually used to convince people that the Gulf War was a bad idea. In other words, which analogy is chosen probably says a lot about the speaker's motives. We see the same analogies used by opponents to the present war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Those who are critical to George W. Bush, and especially the occupation of Iraq, often compare it to the Vietnam War. Those who support George W. Bush have a tendency to argue that this is a fight against evil. In this understanding of the occupation of Iraq, Saddam Hussein is much more likely to be compared to Hitler, and the occupation to WWII.

2.2.2.4 Other rhetorical devices

Other rhetorical devices that will be mentioned in this study are:

- **Three-part lists:** We are used to the number three having a significant role in fairytales. It is also important in connection with speechwriting. The three-part list can take the form of simply repeating the same word three times, or it can use the same structure in three different fragments that combined create a unity. The three-part list is not constrained to repetition of the same word or phrase, but also includes using three words with approximately the same meaning.
- **Contrastive pairs:** The use of contrastive pairs includes the use of two parts which are in some ways opposites, but also tend to draw on repetition to create an impression of unity (Beard 2000:39).
- **References to God:** References to God and prayer can be utilized as a rhetorical device because it establishes a relationship between the speaker and God. This can be used to increase credibility. For example, in the Bush corpus, the coalition forces are understood as inherently good. If the speaker implies that God is watching over America, he strengthens the association of America and the rest of the coalition forces as good (cf. 3.1 and 4.2).
- **The use of questions:** Different uses of questions are rhetorical devices which can result in various effects depending on their use. For instance, rhetorical questions can be used to reinforce an already established opinion (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1991:157), or they can be used to create the illusion of communication (cf.4.3).
- **Pronouns:** Pronouns can be used to create unity. For example the inclusive use of the third person personal pronoun *we* meaning *you and I*, creates a different effect than use of exclusive first person personal pronoun *I*. Inclusive use of *we* brings the speaker and audience closer by creating a sense of unity. Pronouns can also be

used to magnify differences between groups, for example through the use of a '*us* versus *them'* duality.

2.3 Modality

In this thesis I am going to treat modality as a rhetorical device in the same way as metaphors, metonymy and analogy among others. The reason is that modal auxiliaries can be used as devices which express humility or conviction in the same way as the before mentioned rhetorical devices. Modal auxiliaries are often categorized as expressions of attitude and can thus be said to fall into the rhetorical process of persuasion through personality and stance (ethos). The expression of attitude contributes to the overall perception of the speaker. If the speaker expresses himself with a large amount of hedging in the form of using modal auxiliaries which allows him to distance himself from his statements, his credibility will suffer. If the speaker lacks credibility, he will not be able to persuade his audience. Only through credibility will he then be able to persuade the listener.

2.3.1 Modality in reference grammars - Quirk et al.

Quirk et al. defines modality as 'the manner in which the meaning of a clause is qualified so as to reflect the speaker's judgment of the likelihood of the proposition it expresses being true (1985:219)'.

Quirk et al divides the meaning of modal verbs into two types:

1 Intrinsic – *permission, obligation* and *volition*. These modal verbs involve some degree of human control over events.

2 Extrinsic – *possibility, necessity* and *prediction*. These modal verbs do not involve human control over events, but rather involve judgment.

Although the meanings of modal verbs are separated into two categories, each modal verb can express both intrinsic and extrinsic meaning. The distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic modality will be referred to by other authors as epistemic and root modality, or modulation and modalization later in this thesis. Note that Quirk et al. uses the terminology epistemic and root modality, but merely as a subcategory of extrinsic modality (Quirk 1985:220).

2.3.2 Modality through the eyes of Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG)

SFG distinguish between three metafunctions; ideational, interpersonal and textual.

1. The ideational metafunction deals with the system of choices a person has when conveying a message. Halliday and Matthiessen (2004:29) divides the ideational metafunction into two subcomponents; the experiential and the logical metafunction. Other SFG linguists, such as Geoffrey Thompson, refer to the ideational metafunction as the experiential metafunction (Thompson 2004:30).
2. The interpersonal metafunction deals with the relationship between speaker and listener.
3. The textual metafunction deals with the organization of a text.

This study is concerned with the interpersonal metafunction, more precisely the interaction between speaker and audience. Modality is part of this metafunction. Through modal auxiliaries, the speaker is able to communicate his commitment to his own statements, thus influence the audiences' perception of his statement.

Halliday describes modality as the semantic space that lies between yes and no. Expressions of modality run between the positive and the negative. SFG linguists such as Halliday and

Matthiessen (2004:147), Thompson (2004:65ff) and Martin and Rose (2003:48).explain modality through the theories of speech roles.

Communication is a matter of cooperation between an addresser and a receiver. The addresser has a purpose for saying things to the receiver. There are an endless number of possibilities as for why we wish to communicate with another person. However, the basic purposes are either to give or demand some kind of commodity (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:108). One such commodity is information. The addresser can make a statement and thus give information to the receiver, or he can ask a question and demand information. The exchange is successful if the receiver understands the information he is given, or is able to provide the information which is demanded.

Another possible commodity is what Halliday and Matthiessen call goods-and-services. This is the commodity where the addresser offers to do something for the receiver, giving goods or services, or the addresser demands either goods or services from the receiver. In conclusion we have four primary speech functions: statement, question, offer and command.

Figure 2. 1: Basic speech roles (Thompson 2004:47)

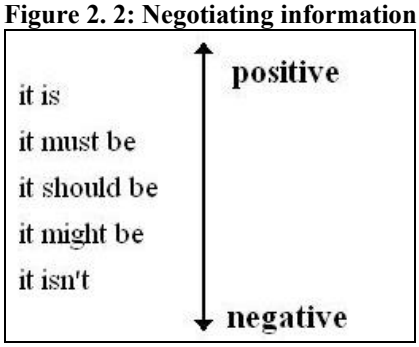
	commodity exchanged	
role in exchange	**goods-and-services**	**information**
i) giving	**offer**	**statement**
	Adresser: Would you like some help with your bags?	Adresser: She is giving him some help with his bags.
	Would you like a piece of paper?	She gave him a piece of paper.
ii) demanding	**command**	**question**
	Adresser: Give me some help!	Adresser: What is she giving him?
	Give me a piece of paper!	

When information is the commodity being exchanged, we say that the clause is a proposition. Propositions can be 'affirmed or denied, and also doubted, contradicted, insisted on, accepted with reservation, qualified, tempered, regretted and so on (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:110)'. When the commodity is goods-and services, we use the term proposal. Unlike

proposition, proposals cannot be denied or affirmed. The difference between propositions and proposals is that propositions are merely a device or instrument which may help you to achieve goods or services, while propositions function as goals themselves.

SFG linguists tend to distinguish between two types of modality; modalization and modulation, also known as epistemic and non-epistemic modality respectively. In propositions, the modality is either concerned with how likely it is that the information is true, probability, or how frequently the information is true, usuality. We refer to these types of modality as modalization. Probability has degrees of likelihood: 'possibly, probably, certainly'. Usuality has degrees of likelihood: 'sometimes, usually, always'. There are three ways to express both probability and usuality: i) by a modal auxiliary, ii) by a modal Adjunct of probability or usuality, or iii) by a combination of the two. Modalization is a negotiation of demands for information, and can be illustrated as follows (Martin and Rose 2003:48):

Figure 2. 2: Negotiating information

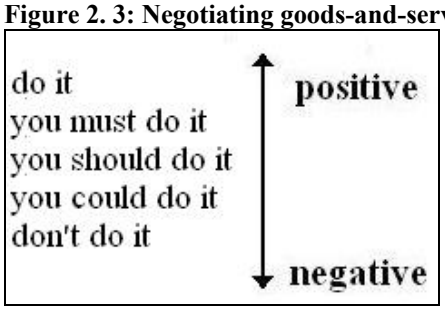


The positive pole is represented by asserting, 'it is' or 'it is so', while the negative pole is represented by denying, 'it isn't' or 'it isn't so'.

The second kind of modality, modulation, includes willingness and obligation. When a speaker makes an offer he or she expresses a degree of willingness to fulfil the offer. However, in commands the speaker expresses a degree of obligation on the other person to

carry out the command. Willingness and obligation can either be expressed through a modal auxiliary, or by using a passive verb or adjective. The degrees of modulation can be illustrated as follows (ibid.):

Figure 2. 3: Negotiating goods-and-services



The positive pole is represented by proscribing. The negative pole is represented by prescribing. Commands have different degrees of obligation: 'allowed to, supposed to, required to'. Offers have different degrees of inclination: 'willing to, anxious to, determined to'.

In addition to different kinds of modality, we also distinguish between different values. Modality can be expressed with high, median and low speaker commitment. Low and High levels of speaker commitment are often referred to as outer values. The three values are defined based on the effect of the negation (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004:620). The median is considerably different from the outer values by the fact that a negation of the modality and of the proposition does not leads to any significant difference in meaning. In the outer values, on the other hand, the speaker commitment switches from high to low or from low to high when the negation is transferred from the proposition to the modality.

	Direct meaning	**Transferred meaning**
(median)	I think he doesn't know anything.	I don't think he knows anything.
(high)	I know he doesn't know anything.	I don't imagine that he knows anything.

(low) I imagine he doesn't know anything. I don't know that he knows anything.

In addition to speaker commitment, we also consider speaker responsibility. A speaker can either present their point of view as a subjective opinion, or express themselves in way that gives the statement an objective quality.

2.3.3 What can a study of modality add to our understanding of persuasive discourse?

Thompson and Hunston deal with modality as one sub-category of evaluation in their book *Evaluation in Text* (2000). In their introduction Thompson and Hunston present three main functions of evaluation (2000:6):

1) to express the speaker's or writer's opinion, and in doing so to reflect the value system of that person and their community;
2) to construct and maintain relations between the speaker or writer and hearer or reader;
3) to organize the discourse.

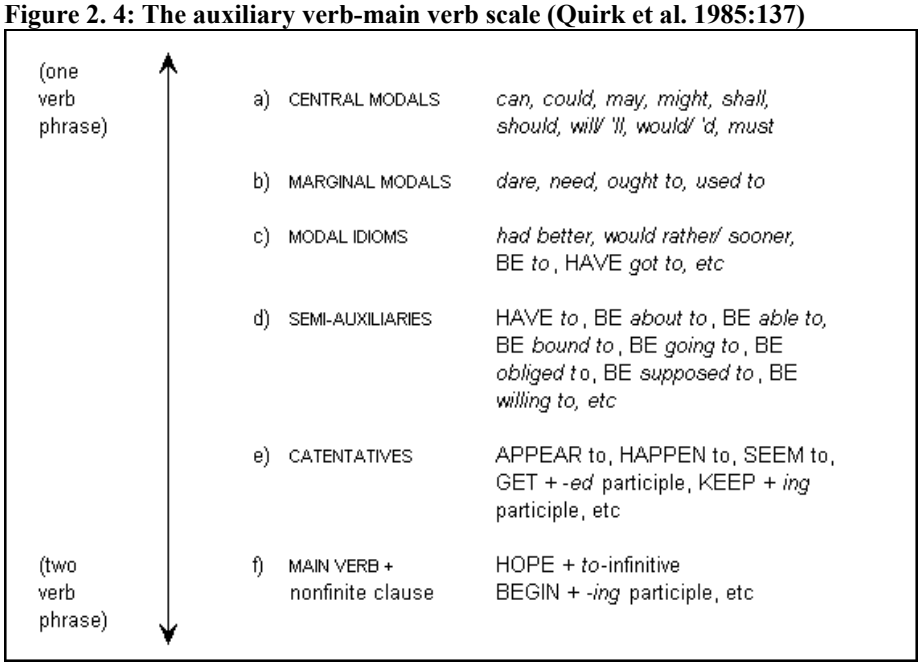
If Thompson and Hunston are correct, and modality is able to help reflect the value system of a person and a community, then the study of modality is part of the uncovering of ideologies.

Furthermore, the speaker's ability to express his opinion is an important feature of language. In addition to expressing the speaker's ownership of statements Norman Fairclough suggests that modality has to do with speaker (or writer) authority (Fairclough 2001: 105). Fairclough claims that it is the implicit authority claims and implicit power relations that make modality interesting in connection to ideology (Fairclough 2001:106).

2.3.4 Modal auxiliaries

Below I have included a list with examples of the modal components this study will deal with, as well as their most common uses. The modal components are what Quirk et al. (1985) classify as central modals *can , could, may, might, shall, should, will, would* and *must*.

Figure 2. 4: The auxiliary verb-main verb scale (Quirk et al. 1985:137)



Possible modal expressions based on Quirk et al. (1985:219ff) are expressed in table 2.1:

Table 2. 1: Potential expressions of modality by central modals

	May	Might	Can	Could	Must	Shall	Should	Will	Would
Intrinsic modality									
Obligation					X	X	X		
Permission	X	X	X	X					
Wish	X								
Volition						X		X	X
Extrinsic modality									
Possibility	X	X	X	X					
Ability			X	X					
Necessity					X		X		
Prediction						X		X	X

It should be noted that the category 'necessity' in the case of *must* refer to 'logical necessity', which means that the speaker judges the proposition to have a high likelihood of being true (Quirk et al. 1985:224ff), in the case of *should*, 'necessity' refer to 'tentative inference', where the speaker does not know whether or not the statement is true, but tentatively infer it based on his knowledge (Quirk et al. 1985:227). The category 'wish' is taken from Hasselgård, Johansson and Lysvåg (1998:197) and is used to describe a special kind of obligation. A further introduction of the terminology used in the analysis of modal auxiliaries will be given in chapter 5.

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2.4 Previous work on political language

Many studies have been conducted on the topic of political language. Some of these studies are in-depth studies of one or two speeches, other studies deal with corpora of political language gathered from one or more speakers.

2.4.1 A corpus study based on the language of presidents.

'The words of Presidents' is an article written by Magne Dypedahl and Hilde Hasselgård. The article is based on a corpus study of speeches delivered by nine US Presidents between 1961 and 2004. The main focus of their study is word frequency, and how frequent words can reveal American culture as well as rhetorical aspects of presidency. The corpus consists of 256 speeches, a total of 628,564 words. The number of speeches from each president varies from 8 speeches by Carter and Bush Sr. to 74 speeches by Clinton.

The study is based on the hypothesis that 'a speaker's choice of words will reveal something of his/her concerns and priorities, as well as the subject matter of the speech (Dypedahl and

Hasselgård 2004:30)'. The corpus study consists of three parts; word frequencies, key words and collocations. The main tool used in the corpus study is WordSmith (cf.1.3.2).

An investigation of word frequencies is able to reveal the most frequent words, and in particular the most frequent content words. A list of the 50 most frequent content words in the corpus is assumed to reveal the most important subjects in presidential speeches. In order to balance these results, the study compares the findings from the primary corpus with corresponding results from the Brown University Corpus of American English. The Brown corpus consists of 1 million words of written American English from the 1960s. This comparison concludes that political speeches constitute a specialized genre which has a higher frequency of some types of words compared with the Brown corpus which consists of text excerpts from different genres.

The keyword function allows the study to conclude that the vocabulary is either concerned with the interpersonal aspects of the speeches, or the important political subjects of the time. The vocabulary of the presidential corpus reflects that speech delivery is a here and now activity between a speaker and an audience. Keywords mirror the choices the individual presidents are faced with in order to keep the public's support.

The last section of this study deals with collocations and focuses on four words; *people*, *new*, *America* and *American*. By studying the most common collocates of these words the study wishes to reveal any assumption that may be connected to these words.

This study illustrates the abilities of WordSmith and proves the value of corpus studies in order to find the hidden meaning in language. However, the study does not move beyond the

scope of providing evidence that political speeches are a separate genre, and that culture and values are reflected in political speeches.

2.4.2 A study of linguistic choices

In chapter 6 of her book *Analysing Real Texts* (2004), Hilary Hillier analyses the language in speeches by two British politicians; Tony Blair and John Major. Hillier analyses and compares one short extract from each speaker with regards to their linguistic choices with emphasis on personal pronouns, lexical repetition and grammatical repetition. Hillier's definitions of personal pronouns is based on the categorization of 'central pronouns' in Crystal (1996:148) and Quirk et. al. (1985:346),[14] and includes personal, possessive and reflexive pronouns. Lexical repetition is defined as "three or more uses of the "same" lexical item. Potential lexical items are restricted to nouns, adjectives, full lexical verbs and adverbs. This restriction also includes auxiliary verbs and all uses of *be, have* and *do*. Within Hillier's calculation of lexical repetition she has chosen to regard 'different morphological variations of a word as tokens of the "same" lexical item (2004:128)'. Furthermore, amalgamations[15] within other words have also been included within Hillier's definition of lexical repetition. Grammatical repetition is defined as three or more occurrences of an item excluded from the definition of lexical items.

The study of pronoun choices addressed potential differences in overall use of pronouns, between the use of first, second and third person pronouns, and between the use of singular and plural forms. The study revealed that Major used a higher proportion of first person pronouns than Blair (Major 73.3 % vs. Blair 42.7%), Blair uses the first person singular *I*,

[14] These references are given in Hillier (2004:127).
[15] *Amalgamation* is the incorporation of one word within another word.

more than five times as often as Major (Blair 15 vs. Major 3), and that Blair uses a higher proportion of third person pronouns than Major (Blair 50.8% vs. Major 20.0%).
The study of lexical repetition shows that Blair uses lexical repetition more often than Major. The findings show that lexical repetition portrays the subjects each speaker finds important. Grammatical repetition was only found in the text by Major, and shows that he favours grammatical repetition over lexical repetition.

Hillier's study concludes that both speakers use plural pronouns to more effectively persuade their audiences. The study states that the two party leaders use persuasive techniques which do not coincide with Hillier's expectations. Major emphasizes the inclusive *we*, while Blair emphasizes the individual through his use of *I*. This study challenges the traditional view of Conservative as a political party which emphasizes the individual, and Labour as a party which emphasizes solidarity and unity. This study illustrates how a close linguistic text study can prove that our expectations are not in agreement with actual language use.

2.5 Summary of linguistic features

In this chapter I have given an introduction of the linguistic features that will be analysed in chapters 3-5, as well as the theoretical background for the three main areas of interest in this study; ideology, rhetoric and modality. Metaphors, metonymy, analogy and word choice are four rhetorical devices which are quite effective when it comes to revealing ideologies because they concern themselves with the speaker's understanding of the world. These will therefore be discussed in chapter 3, a chapter which concerns itself with expressions of beliefs and values, and the unveiling of ideology. The model of testimony, references to God, the use of questions, three-part lists, contrastive pairs and use of personal pronouns are six rhetorical devices which can be utilized in different ways and create various effects based on their use.

These rhetorical devices are analysed with the intent to uncover differences and similarities between the linguistic choices made by Blair and Bush. Chapter 5 concerns itself with an analysis of the use of modal auxiliaries in the two corpora. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, modality, expresses the speaker's commitment to his own statements as well as function as an implicit expression of authority. The findings of these three chapters of analysis will subsequently be contrasted and compared.

Chapter 3

Ideology

Political speeches are always filled with ideology and the speeches that make up the Blair corpus and the Bush corpus are no different. Analysis of ideologies expressed in a corpus of speeches is challenging. Bruce Hawkins (2001:6) makes the valid point that the problem with studying ideologies is not that they are hard to find. On the contrary, they are everywhere. The challenge lies in noticing them.

3.1 Metaphor, metonymy and analogy

This part of the study does not attempt to give an exhaustive account of all uses of metaphor, metonymy and analogy. Instead it wishes to illustrate how these rhetorical devices are utilized by reference to examples of their presence in the two corpora.

3.1.1 Metaphor

This study focuses on conceptual metaphors[16] as carriers of ideologies. CM was described in section 2.2.2.1 as 'understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain (Kövecses 2002:4)'. CMs reflect our understanding of the world, and thus reveal our beliefs and values. However, like ideologies, CMs are everywhere. It has therefore been necessary to focus on a few of the CMs which are prominent throughout the corpora. These CMs also reflect attitudes that are shown through other rhetorical devices.

[16] CM = conceptual metaphor

The epic battle between good and evil is an underlying theme portrayed in several CMs which runs through all the speeches. This is a universal struggle which we can expect to find in all cultures. Throughout the speeches, the United States and its allies are always playing the part of the heroic good force in the world, while terrorists, the Taliban and Saddam Hussein among others, are cast as the evil villains. Although the United States is always associated with the forces of good, and the opponent is always associated with evil, there are a lot of different ways to communicate this duality. Since good and evil are abstract concepts it is easiest to portray the struggle through metaphorical language.

If the United States, the United Kingdom and their allies are forces of good, their opponents or enemies are inevitably considered to be the opposite; namely forces of evil. This gives the conceptual metaphors THE US AND UK ARE GOOD and THE ENEMIES OF THE US AND UK ARE EVIL. The following excerpts show the terrorists tied to elements which are considered evil; drug dealing, murder and suicide in (1), the support of tyrants and the resentment of oppressed people in (2) and war and destruction in (3).

(1) [GWB 10.11.01]	The terrorists call their cause holy, yet, **they fund it with drug dealing**; **they encourage murder and suicide** in the name of a great faith that forbids both.
(2) [GWB 07.09.03]	The terrorists **thrive on the support of tyrants and the resentments of oppressed peoples**.
(3) [GWB 07.09.03]	Last month, terrorists **brought their war** to the United Nations itself. The U.N. headquarters in Baghdad stood for order and compassion - and for that reason, the terrorists decided it must be destroyed.

The excerpt below is from a speech delivered 23 September 2003 addressed to the United Nations General Assembly. In this paragraph, Bush puts a description of the negligence and destruction of Saddam Hussein's regime up against the good intentions of a helpful United States.

(4) [GWB 23.09.03]

And at the same time, our coalition is helping to improve the daily lives of the Iraqi people. The old regime built palaces while letting schools decay, so we are rebuilding more than a thousand schools. The old regime starved hospitals of resources, so we have helped to supply and reopen hospitals across Iraq. The old regime built up armies and weapons, while allowing the nation's infrastructure to crumble, so we are rehabilitating power plants, water and sanitation facilities, bridges and airports. I proposed to Congress that the United States provide additional funding for our work in Iraq, the greatest financial commitment of its kind since the Marshall Plan. Having **helped to liberate Iraq,** we will honor our pledges to Iraq, and by helping the Iraqi people build a stable and peaceful country, we will make our own countries more secure.

In the western world, concepts such as liberty, freedom and justice are positive concepts. Thus forces that are against these concepts are inevitably considered negative. In this excerpt, Bush establishes the United States as the personified fairy tale knight in shining armour which *helped to liberate Iraq*. Bush emphasizes their ability to provide help by mentioning the Marshall Plan. This can be considered a rhetorical technique. The Marshall Plan was very important to many countries after World War II, and gave the United States a reputation of being a powerful and gentle giant who helped countries which were in need.[17] This is the reputation Bush wishes to reclaim for the United States. By mentioning the Marshall Plan he can evoke a sense of gratitude and obligation.

Excerpt (4) illustrates the battle of good versus evil, or more specific the constructive versus the destructive forces which are battling within Iraq. The constructive and good represented by the United States is contrasted with the actions of the evil destructive forces, represented by the old Iraqi regime.

The old Iraqi regime:

1. let the schools decay.
2. starved hospitals of resources.

The coalition led by the United States:

1. rebuilt more than a thousand schools.
2. helped to supply and reopen

[17] Compton's Interactive Encyclopedia 1994-95

	hospitals.
3. let Iraq's infrastructure crumble.	3. are rehabilitating power plants, water and sanitation facilities, bridges and airports.

The listings of negligence opposed to accomplishments are clearly intended to discredit the old Iraqi regime, and praise the coalition:

1) Education is considered an important and good thing. In other words the old regime is evil for letting schools decay, and the coalition is good because they have rebuilt schools.
2) Hospitals are necessary for keeping the population healthy and prohibiting deaths. The old regime is evil for not giving the hospitals funding, while the coalition is good for helping to provide health care.
3) Infrastructure is important in order to bring medical help, food and information throughout a vast country. The old Iraqi regime is evil for letting the infrastructure crumble, while the coalition is good for giving the people access to power, water and sanitation.

The foregone conclusion is that the old Iraqi regime is evil, and the coalition is good.

Bush continued to portray the United States as crusaders for liberty, freedom and justice. He emphasizes that the role of knight in shining armour is not a position taken by the US, but rather a position the US has been appointed to.

(5) [GWB 10.11.01] We did not ask for this mission, yet there is honor in history's call. We have a chance to write the story of our times, a story of courage defeating cruelty and light overcoming darkness. This calling is worthy of any life, and worthy of every nation. So let us go forward, confident, determined, and unafraid.

The following excerpt is taken from Bush's speech to the American people on 14 December 2003, after the capture of Saddam Hussein:

(6) [GWB 14.12.03] And this afternoon, I have a message for the Iraqi people: You will not have to fear the rule of Saddam Hussein ever again. All Iraqis who take the side of freedom have taken the winning side. The goals of our coalition are the same as your goals -- sovereignty for your country, dignity for your great culture, and for every Iraqi citizen, the opportunity for a better life.

After the capture of Saddam Hussein, Bush talks about the two sides in the war in Iraq. He proclaims that those *who take the side of freedom* are on the winning side. This means that the coalition is on the side of freedom. Since freedom is positive, those who fight for freedom are positive, thus the coalition is positive. In the fight between good and evil, freedom is on the side of good. Saddam Hussein is on the side of evil.

In his illustration of the struggle between good and evil, Bush turns to the conceptual metaphors GOOD IS LIGHT and EVIL IS DARK. Light is in these illustrations usually represented by the United States and coalition forces, while darkness is represented by the present enemy.

(7) [GWB 11.09.02] Tomorrow is September the 12th. A milestone is passed, and a mission goes on. Be confident. Our country is strong. And our cause is even larger than our country. Ours is the cause of human dignity; freedom guided by conscience and guarded by peace. This ideal of America is the hope of all mankind. That hope drew millions to this harbor. That **hope still lights our way**. And **the light shines in the darkness**. **And the darkness will not overcome it**.

(8) [GWB 07.09.03] Some of the attackers are members of the old Saddam regime, who fled the battlefield and now **fight in the shadows**.

Note that example (7) contains a reference to John 1:5 'The light shines in the darkness, and the darkness has not overcome it'.[18] The use of references to God in the Bush corpus is discussed in section 3.2.2.

The portrayal of terrorism as an evil that the good world needs to fight has become an international concept which has also been reflected in the speeches of Tony Blair ever since the attacks on 11 September 2001. This is not to say that metaphors referring to the epic battle between good and evil are a new element in the speeches of Tony Blair. Charteris-Black (2005: 146 ff) claims that Blair often uses the battle between good and evil as a moral and ethical justification for action. Prior to 11 September 2001, Blair referred to various forms of 'social injustice and its causes' as evil (Charteris-Black 2005:150). Even after 11 September we can witness a shift in the embodiment of evil. The next excerpt is from his speech following the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001.

(9) [TB 11.09.01]

As I said earlier, **this mass terrorism is the new evil** in our world. The people who perpetrate it have no regard whatever for the sanctity or value of human life, and we the democracies of the world, must come together to defeat it and eradicate it. **This is not a battle between the United States of America and terrorism, but between the free and democratic world and terrorism.** We, therefore, here in Britain stand shoulder to shoulder with our American friends in this hour of tragedy, and we, like them, will not rest until **this evil** is driven from our world.

After the actions in Afghanistan in October 2001, Blair began focusing on the role of Iraq and Saddam Hussein in the war against terrorism. Soon Saddam Hussein was embedded in the war against terrorism and thus Saddam Hussein and Iraq became part of the evil which threatened the good world.

(10) [TB 18.03.03]

Looking back over 12 years, we have been victims of our own desire to placate the implacable, to persuade towards reason the utterly unreasonable, to hope that there was some **genuine intent to do good in a regime whose mind is in fact evil.** Now the very length of time counts against us. You've waited 12 years. Why not wait a little longer?

[18] English Standard Version (http://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=John%201:5;&version=47;)

The conceptual metaphors GOOD IS LIGHT and EVIL IS DARK are also present in the Blair corpus. In the two excerpts below Saddam Hussein and the people connected to his reign are placed in the shadows and darkness.

(11) [TB 18.07.03] The threat comes because, in another part of the globe, there is **shadow and darkness** where not all the world is free, where many millions suffer under brutal dictatorship;

(12) [TB 18.03.03] We must face the consequences of the actions we advocate. For me, that means all the dangers of war. But for others, opposed to this course, it means - let us be clear - that the Iraqi people, whose only true hope of liberation lies in the removal of Saddam, for them, **the darkness will close back over them again**; and he will be free to take his revenge upon those he must know wish him gone.

This following excerpt is taken from the statement given after the capture of Saddam Hussein.

(13) [TB 14.12.03] **The shadow of Saddam** is finally lifted from the Iraqi people.

References to light as a symbol of the nation's strength and embedded goodness are more prominent in the Bush corpus than in the Blair corpus. The only metaphorical reference to light in the Blair corpus is given in the excerpt below:

(14) [TB 18.07.03] As Britain knows, all predominant power seems for a time invincible; but in fact it is transient. The question is what do you leave behind?
What you can bequeath to this anxious world is **the light of liberty**.
That is what this struggle against terrorist groups or states is about.

In this excerpt Blair is talking to the US Congress about what people can (in this case more precisely Americans) leave behind. He is then appealing directly to the American core values of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'[19] and associating them with good.

Another important ideology that runs though the two corpora is the dehumanisation of terrorists. In order to fight terrorism and the terrorists it seems important that the audience

[19] The Declaration of Independence

does not view the terrorists as humans. This dehumanisation is realised in several different ways, for example:

TERRORISTS ARE ANIMALS

(15) [GWB 07.10.01] Initially, the terrorists may **burrow deeper into caves** and other entrenched hiding places. Our military action is also designed to clear the way for sustained, comprehensive and relentless operations to drive them out and bring them to justice.

(16) [GWB 08.11.01] I have called our military into action to **hunt** down the members of the al Qaeda organization who murdered innocent Americans.

(17) [GWB 07.09.03] In a series of raids and actions around the world, nearly two-thirds of al Qaeda's known leaders have been captured or killed, and we continue on al Qaeda's **trail**.

In these three examples, the terrorists are described in ways normally used to describe the behaviour of animals. Animals are often said to burrow when they are trying to dig holes in the ground (15). Hunting has traditionally been an activity directed at hunting animals for food, but is also closely connected with capture (16). Trail is 'a track, sign or smell left behind that can be followed (Oxford ALD)' and is often associated with the hunt, especially the hunt for animals (17).

Terrorists are not portrayed as animals to the same extent in the Blair corpus as we have just seen in the Bush corpus. Blair, like Bush, wishes *to hunt the terrorists*, otherwise Blair chooses to emphasize the terrorists' lack of human qualities such as empathy and compassion. This is shown in excerpts (18)-(20).

(18) [TB 14.11.01] Before the history books are written, however, we will continue **to hunt them** [terrorists] down, and we will continue to do so for as long as it takes to bring them to the justice they deserve. They are guilty and they will face justice, and today, thankfully, they have far fewer places to hide and far fewer people who wish to protect them.

(19) [TB 10.09.02] Their courage was the best answer to the terrorists' cruelty. **Terrorists can kill and maim the innocent**, but they have not won and they never will.

(20) [TB 03.02.03] What is more, many of these arrests show the terrorist groups actively seeking to use chemical or biological means **to cause as much death and injury and suffering as they can**. We know from 11 September that these terrorists have no demands that could ever be negotiated upon, no constraint in terms of finance and numbers to carry out terrorists acts, **no compunction in taking human life**.

In addition to dehumanising the terrorists they are also portrayed as a disease that is eating away at the world. We are therefore given the following CM:

TERRORISM IS A DISEASE

(21) [GWB 07.10.01] **The virus is terrorism**, whose intent to inflict destruction is unconstrained by human feeling; and whose capacity to inflict it is enlarged by technology.

Small groups of terrorists are often referred to as cells. Depending on how you interpret 'cell' this can be viewed as another example of the conceptual metaphor TERRORISM IS A DISEASE. If *cell* is interpreted as a small unit in a living organism, for instance in a body, then a terrorist cell can be viewed as a diseased cell.

(22) [TB 18.03.03] We all know that there are **terrorist cells** now operating in most major countries.

(23) [GWB 24.09.02] **Terror cells** and outlaw regimes building weapons of mass destruction are different faces of the same evil.

3.1.2 Metonymy

Metonymy was described in section 2.2.2.2 as the process where one entity is used to refer to another entity that is related to it. There are many examples of this rhetorical device throughout both corpora, but some of the most interesting findings are:

(25) [GWB 08.11.01] A terrorism alert is not a signal to stop your life. It is a call to be vigilant -- to know that your government is on high alert, and *to* **add your eyes and ears** to our efforts to find and stop those who want to do us harm.

(26) [GWB 06.06.02] Americans should continue to do what you're doing -- go about your lives, but pay attention to your surroundings. **Add your eyes and ears** to the protection of our homeland.

(27) [GWB 23.09.03] We're determined to keep the world's most destructive weapons away from all our shores, and **out of the hands** of our common enemies.

(28) [TB14.11.01] I can confirm to **the House** that several thousand of our troops are being put on 48-hour notice to move in case they are required in the area.

In (25) and (26) *eyes and ears* are used to refer to the senses of sight and hearing of humans. The encouragement to the America people to add their eyes and ears is merely a request for them to pay attention to anything they see or hear that strikes them as being odd. In (27) Bush use the expression *the hands of our common enemies* which refers to the possession of the enemies. In example (28) which is taken from the Blair corpus, *the House* is used to refer to the House of Commons. This is a conventional metaphor, which means that this way of referring to the House of Commons is well-established. This is the most frequently used example of metonymy in the Blair corpus.

In chapter 2, section 2.2.2.2, synecdoche was mentioned as a special case of metonymy where part is used to represent a whole. We find several examples of synecdoche in both corpora. The most frequently used example of synecdoche is *America* used to represent *the United States of America*.

(29) [TB 18.03.03] And if our plea is for **America** to work with others, to be good as well as powerful allies, will our retreat make them multilateralist?

(30) [GWB 18.12.05] And the result of that war was to rid a - the world of a murderous dictator who menaced his people, invaded his neighbors, and declared **America** to be his enemy.

America in place of the United States of America occurs in both corpora and is another example of fully conventionalised metaphor. Another example of synecdoche is *Saddam* used to refer to Iraq as a whole.

(31) [TB 20.03.03] So our choice is clear: back down and leave **Saddam** hugely strengthened; or proceed to **disarm him** by force.

(32) [GWB 07.10.02] The time for denying, deceiving, and delaying has come to an end. **Saddam Hussein** must disarm **himself** -- or, for the sake of peace, we will lead a coalition to disarm **him**. (856-857)

By making Saddam Hussein represent Iraq, the speakers create the illusion that the removal of Saddam Hussein will solve all problems in Iraq. This ability to simplify a situation is one of the main reasons why synecdoche and metonymy are powerful rhetorical devices.

3.1.3 Analogy

In chapter 2.2.2.3 analogy was described as 'a large-scale comparison where one concept is understood by comparing it to another well-known concept'. This section mentioned the motives associated with references to different wars fought by the United States when Bush Sr. was President. This tendency is also shown in the Bush (Jr.) corpus. As mentioned earlier in chapter 3.1, Bush refers to the accomplishments of the US in the aftermath of WWII as a testimony that the US is able to help the world. On several occasions Bush refers to past experience in order to justify future actions.

(33) [GWB 10.11.01] In a second world war, we learned there is no isolation from evil. We affirmed that some crimes are so terrible they offend humanity, itself. And we resolved that the aggressions and ambitions of the wicked must be opposed early, decisively, and collectively, before they threaten us all. That evil has returned, and that cause is renewed.

(34) [GWB 01.03.03] Rebuilding Iraq will require a sustained commitment from many nations, including our own. We will remain in Iraq as long as necessary, and not a day more. America has made and kept this kind of commitment before -- in the peace that followed World War II. After defeating enemies, we did not leave behind occupying armies; we left constitutions and parliaments. We did not leave behind permanent foes; we found new friends and allies.

Not surprisingly, the Bush corpus does not have many mentions of the Vietnam War, which was a difficult chapter in US history. In chapter 3.2.2.2 it was mentioned that references to the Vietnam war is preferred by those who are opposed to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. This claim is supported by the Bush corpus. The only mention of Vietnam is in a quote by Zawahiri, a representative for Al Qaida.

(35) [GWB 07.12.05] The terrorists hope America will withdraw before the job is done, so they can take over the country and turn it into a base for future attacks. Zawahiri called the Vietnam War

as a reason to believe the terrorists can prevail. He wrote, "The aftermath of the collapse of American power in Vietnam - and how they ran and left their agents - is noteworthy."

Holocaust is another element from WWII which evokes strong emotions because of its volume and level of cruelty. Comparisons to Holocaust will inevitably evoke and transfer emotions associated to the Holocaust to the element that is compared.

(36) [GWB 10.11.01] These same terrorists are searching for weapons of mass destruction, the tools to turn their hatred into holocaust.

Section 2.2.2.3 referred to George Bush Sr. and his comparison of Saddam Hussein to Adolf Hitler. The comparison of Iraq and Saddam Hussein to Germany and Adolf Hitler is also found in the Blair corpus. In fact, Blair at one point explicitly refers to this comparison as an analogy.

(37) [TB 18.03.03] There are glib and sometimes foolish comparisons with the 1930s. No-one here is an appeaser. But the only relevant point of analogy is that with history, we know what happened. We can look back and say: there's the time; that was the moment; for example, when Czechoslovakia was swallowed up by the Nazis - that's when we should have acted.

In this next excerpt the comparison between Saddam Hussein and Hitler is implicit.

(38) [TB 18.03.03] Naturally should Hitler appear again in the same form, we would know what to do. But the point is that history doesn't declare the future to us so plainly. Each time is different and the present must be judged without the benefit of hindsight.

While Bush refers to WWII in order to justify future events, Blair refers to the first Gulf War (1990-1991). Blair compares the present situation in Iraq concerning Saddam Hussein, to the situation concerning Iraq and Saddam Hussein in the first Gulf War. The lack of results in the aftermath of the first Gulf War is interpreted as a lack of change resulting from the situation in 2002-2003.

(39) [TB 03.02.03] We are entering the final phase of a 12 year history of the disarmament of Iraq. The duty on Saddam to destroy all his weapons of mass destruction was a central part of the

> ceasefire agreement at the end of the Gulf War in 1991. In a series of 17 resolutions since then the UN Security Council has put Saddam under 27 separate and categorical obligations: to give full, final and complete declarations on its weapons programmes; to give inspectors unconditional and unrestricted access; to cease the concealment of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction; and to cooperate fully with the inspectors in the disarmament of all its weapons of mass destruction. He has consistently flouted these obligations which is why for years there has been a sanctions regime in place against Iraq, which because of the way Saddam has applied it, has caused wholly unnecessary suffering to the Iraqi people.

This comparison between the results of the first Gulf war and the situation in 2002/2003, and the similarities the comparison revealed was one of the main arguments in support of the military operations in Iraq.

3.2 Word choice

As mentioned in the introduction, this study investigates speeches from two corpora that can be considered parallel to a certain degree. Both the Blair corpus and the Bush corpus concern themselves with the events of 11 September 2001 and the ensuing war on terror. The speeches which make up the two corpora were delivered within the same timespan. Since the main subject matter of these two corpora is the same, it is interesting to conduct an investigation into the word choice of the two speakers in an attempt to discover differences in priorities. This investigation is inspired by the study of Dypedahl and Hasselgård (2004) mentioned in section 2.4.1.

This study began by producing a list of the most frequent words in both corpora by using the wordlist function in WordSmith (cf. chapter 1.3.2). Table 3.1 illustrates the 35 most frequent words in the two corpora. The position of the words in the original list (before the grammatical words other than personal pronouns were excluded) is given in brackets. The number of occurrences in each corpus is given in bold text.

Table 3. 1: The 35 most frequent words in the Blair and Bush corpora, excluding grammatical words.

	Blair							Bush						
1.	WE	(9)	**486**	19.	CAN	(52)	**84**	1.	WE	(7)	**542**	19.	COUNTRY	(43)	**95**
2.	WILL	(16)	**256**	20.	WOULD	(53)	**84**	2.	OUR	(8)	**474**	20.	UNITED	(45)	**90**
3.	OUR	(17)	**255**	21.	KNOW	(56)	**79**	3.	WILL	(11)	**334**	21.	NEW	(47)	**87**
4.	I	(18)	**254**	22.	HIS	(57)	**78**	4.	IRAQ	(15)	**239**	22.	WEAPONS	(48)	**86**
5.	PEOPLE	(25)	**165**	23.	SHOULD	(58)	**75**	5.	THEIR	(19)	**191**	23.	NATION	(49)	**85**
6.	THEY	(26)	**165**	24.	THREAT	(59)	**74**	6.	PEOPLE	(22)	**164**	24.	TERROR	(50)	**83**
7.	IRAQ	(28)	**159**	25.	WMD	(65)	**67**	7.	THEY	(25)	**158**	25.	CAN	(51)	**82**
8.	ALL	(29)	**143**	26.	TIME	(66)	**66**	8.	ALL	(26)	**152**	26.	US	(53)	**80**
9.	SADDAM	(33)	**123**	27.	INSPECTORS	(67)	**64**	9.	IRAQI	(28)	**145**	27.	MILITARY	(54)	**78**
10.	THEIR	(34)	**123**	28.	ONE	(68)	**64**	10.	I	(32)	**128**	28.	THEM	(55)	**77**
11.	UN	(35)	**123**	29.	ACTION	(69)	**63**	11.	TERRORISTS	(33)	**126**	29.	FREEDOM	(56)	**72**
12.	WORLD	(37)	**121**	30.	WAR	(72)	**62**	12.	MORE	(35)	**118**	30.	YOU	(57)	**72**
13.	US	(38)	**116**	31.	WAY	(73)	**59**	13.	WORLD	(36)	**117**	31.	MUST	(58)	**69**
14.	NOW	(40)	**109**	32.	RESOLUTION	(74)	**57**	14.	AMERICA	(37)	**111**	32.	FORCES	(59)	**68**
15.	HE	(41)	**107**	33.	TERRORISM	(75)	**56**	15.	SECURITY	(38)	**108**	33.	MANY	(63)	**67**
16.	WEAPONS	(43)	**102**	34.	INTERNATIONAL	(76)	**55**	16.	NATIONS	(39)	**101**	34.	SADDAM	(65)	**66**
17.	YOU	(49)	**89**	35.	SAY	(77)	**54**	17.	EVERY	(40)	**97**	35.	AGAINST	(67)	**65**
18.	THEM	(50)	**85**					18.	WAR	(42)	**96**				

Table 3.1 shows that both speakers use many of the same words in their speeches. This supports my previous claim that both corpora deal with the same subject matter. See sections 3.2.1-3.2.6 for further discussion of the differences between Blair and Bush as to the most frequently used words.

The KeyWords function in WordSmith is able to compare the two corpora and find out which words are more frequent in one of the two corpora. When the KeyWords function compares the Blair corpus with the Bush corpus it produces a list consisting of 53 words. Once again some of these words are grammatical words; these are excluded because content words are more interesting for the purpose of this study. Table 3.2 shows the 15 most frequent content words given in the keyword list. In addition to the 15 first content words, I have added one word to each list which is less frequent than the others, but nevertheless interesting because these are very essential in the two corpora and are included in the frequency list.

Table 3. 2: Keywords in the Blair and Bush corpora

	Blair
1.	UN
2.	WMD
3.	PROGRAMME
4.	INSPECTORS
5.	I
6.	BRITISH
7.	LET
8.	SHOULD
9.	BRITAIN
10.	RESOLUTION
11.	PRIME
12.	SAY
13.	ISSUE
14.	MINISTER
15.	BREACH
	↓
16.	INTERNATIONAL

	Bush
1.	OUR
2.	AMERICA
3.	IRAQI
4.	NATION
5.	AMERICANS
6.	GREAT
7.	HUSSEIN
8.	IRAQIS
9.	UNITED
10.	NATIONAL
11.	NAJAF
12.	HELPING
13.	ENEMY
14.	FREEDOM
15.	MORE
	↓
20.	TERROR

Based on tables 3.1.and 3.2 I have selected the following 6 interesting words: *Inspectors, international, resolution, terror, freedom* and *Iraqi*. The first three words are most frequent in the Blair corpus, while the latter three are most frequent in the Bush corpus. These words were selected through the following procedure:

The two word frequency lists were compared and words that were among the 35 most frequent words in both corpora were excluded. This also includes references to the speakers' respective nations and nationality, as well as *WMD*, *UN, united* and *nations*. WMD was excluded because this abbreviation is only used in the Blair corpus, while Bush uses the full form *weapons of mass destruction* in the Bush corpus. The latter three words were excluded since only Blair uses the abbreviation *UN*, while Bush prefers the full form *United Nations*. Secondly, pronouns and modal auxiliaries were extracted. (These will be discussed later in chapters 4.6 and 5 respectively). Thirdly, all words that can be considered ordinary in every day language such as *every* and *many* are excluded. The frequency list was at this point reduced to 14 words. The fourth point was to compare these 14 words to the two KeyWords

lists. All words that were not mentioned in both lists were excluded. The list was now reduced to 6 words. The final control was to use the keyword function to compare the Blair and Bush corpora to both the FLOB corpus and the FROWN corpus (Meyer 2002:21).[20] Comparing the Blair and Bush corpora to both FLOB and FROWN was necessary to prevent the results from being affected by differences between British and American English. Table 3.3 show the keyword results for the 6 words listed above.

Table 3. 3: Keyword occurrences for 6 selected words

	Blair vs. Bush	Bush vs. Blair	Blair vs. Flob	Blair vs. Frown	Bush vs. Flob	Bush vs. Frown
INSPECTORS	4		8	9		
RESOLUTION	10		14	15		
INTERNATIONAL	16		27	27		
FREEDOM		14			17	16
TERROR		20	33	26	10	7
IRAQI		3	21	21	4	4

Table 3.3 shows that the results from the comparison between the Blair and Bush corpora transfer to the KeyWords results from the other corpora.

Their distribution of the 6 words in the two corpora is illustrated in table 3.4.

Table 3. 4: Word frequencies in the Blair and Bush corpora

Keyword	Frequency in the Blair corpus	Frequency in The Bush corpus	Difference
Inspectors	64	10	54
International	55	13	42
Resolution	57	12	45
Terror	31	83	**52**
Freedom	22	72	**50**
Iraqi	39	145	**106**

[20] The Freiburg LOB Corpus of British English and the Freiburg Brown Corpus of American English (cf. 1.3.2)

In order to get a full overview of the use of these words, their distribution in the individual texts has been shown in tables 3.5 and 3.6.

Table 3. 5: Blair

	Inspectors	International	Resolution	Terror	Freedom	Iraqi
11.09.2001	0	0	0	2	0	0
14.09.2001	0	1	1	6	0	0
25.09.2001	0	3	0	2	0	0
07.10.2001	0	1	0	5	1	0
13.11.2001	0	0	0	0	0	0
14.11.2001	0	7	1	0	0	0
10.09.2002	4	4	0	1	1	3
24.09.2002	13	11	3	0	0	7
08.11.2002	3	5	7	0	0	2
03.02.2003	9	3	6	0	0	3
25.02.2003	13	5	11	1	0	4
18.03.2003	17	1	15	3	2	9
20.03.2003	1	0	0	0	1	3
18.07.2003	0	4	2	2	12	0
14.12.2003	0	0	0	2	2	5
05.03.2004	4	9	6	0	2	3
07.07.2005	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.07.2005	0	1	2	2	0	0
14.09.2005	0	0	3	4	1	0
Total	**64**	**55**	**57**	**30**	**22**	**39**

Table 3. 6: Bush

	Inspectors	International	Resolution	Terror	Freedom	Iraqi
11.09.2001	0	0	0	1	3	0
07.10.2001	0	0	0	2	4	0
08.11.2001	0	0	0	1	7	0
10.11.2001	0	0	2	16	2	0
11.12.2001	0	0	0	1	1	0
06.02.2002	0	0	0	5	3	0
11.09.2002	0	0	0	2	4	0
07.10.2002	6	5	3	15	3	21
06.02.2003	3	0	2	0	1	9
01.03.2003	0	0	0	0	4	3
19.03.2003	0	0	0	0	2	1
22.03.2003	0	0	0	0	0	3
07.09.2003	0	3	2	10	10	11
23.09.2003	0	2	3	9	2	8
14.12.2003	0	0	0	1	2	4
19.03.2004	0	0	0	12	8	7
10.05.2004	0	0	0	2	10	12
07.12.2005	0	3	0	4	10	52
18.12.2005	1	0	0	2	3	14
Total	**10**	**13**	**12**	**83**	**79**	**145**

3.2.1 Inspectors

Blair refers to the UN inspectors six times as often as Bush. This indicates that Blair is more concerned with the UN inspectors than Bush. Since *inspectors* by itself does not express any clear ideologies, it was interesting to take a closer look at the distribution. Table 3.5 shows that references to the UN inspectors are concentrated in the period between 24 September 2002 and 18 March 2003. This means that Blair is most concerned with the UN inspectors after the initial military operations in Afghanistan (7 October 2001) and the attack on Iraq (19/20 March 2003). A comparison with the Bush corpus shows that 9 out of 10 references to the inspectors occur within the same time span (October 2002 – February 2003). Blair's interest in the UN inspector is also carried over in the use of the third person pronouns *they* and *them*. While 11.4 per cent of all uses of *they*, and 3.5 per cent of all uses of *them* refer to the UN inspectors in the Blair corpus, only 0.6 per cent of *they* and no occurrences of *them*

refer to the inspectors in the Bush corpus. This will be discussed later in section 4.6.3 which deals with the use of third person pronouns.

3.2.2 International

International is the second lexical word used more frequently in the Blair corpus than the Bush corpus. More precisely, Blair uses *international* more than four times as often as Bush. While *international* is only mentioned in 4 out of 19 speeches in the Bush corpus, it is used in 14 out of 19 speeches in the Blair corpus. By using the collocation function in WordSmith, the investigation was able to reveal that *international* occurs 19 times in the collocation *the international community*. [21] 16 out of these collocations are used in the time span between 24 September 2002 and 25 February 2003.This shows that Blair was concerned about the international community in this period. The same interest is not reflected in the Bush corpus. In fact, the collocation *the international community* does not occur in the Bush corpus.

Explanations as to why we find this difference between the two corpora can only be based on speculations.

3. 2.3 Resolution

Resolution was only among the top 35 most frequent words in the Blair corpus (cf. table 3.1) with 57 occurrences. Table 3.5 shows that *resolution* is used most frequently in the speeches made between 8 November 2002 and 18 March 2003, with the speech delivered on 18 March 2003 having the most occurrences with 15. This shows that Blair was most concerned with resolutions in the time leading up to the attacks on Iraq 19/20 March 2003. In the Blair corpus we can find the following clusters: *UN resolution 1441* (occur 6 times), *new UN resolution*

[21] 7 out of these 16 occurrences are included in the collocation 'of the international community'.

(occurs 5 times) and a new *UN resolution* (occurs 5 times). These clusters show that Blair is particularly concerned with UN resolutions, in particular with resolution 1441, a UN resolution which was 'passed unanimously on November 8 2002, offering Iraq *"a final opportunity to comply with its disarmament obligations"* that had been set out in several previous resolutions'.[22]

Resolution only occurs 12 times in the Bush corpus, distributed over 5 different speeches (cf. table 3.6). It does not occur more than three times in any one speech and the occurrences are not concentrated around one particular time period.

3. 2.4 Terror

Bush uses the word *terror* more often than Blair. A natural explanation could be that Bush adopted the phrase 'war on terror' in addition to using the term 'war against terror'. A closer study of Blair's speeches reveals that Blair uses *terrorism* more often than Bush (cf. table 3.1). Also note that table 3.1 shows that *terrorists* is only among the 35 most frequent words in the Bush corpus.[23] (See comments on the use of *terrorists* at the end of this section).

Terror vs. Terrorism

Although *terror* is used twice as often in the Bush corpus as the Blair corpus, we see that *terrorism* is used more than twice as often in the Blair corpus as the Bush corpus. This brings up the questions: What is the difference between *terror* and *terrorism*? Why would the British Prime Minister choose to use the term *terrorism*, while the President of the United States chooses the term *terror*?

[22] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UN_Security_Council_Resolution_1441
[23] While *terrorists* occur 126 times in the Bush corpus, it occurs a mere 41 times in the Blair corpus.

The words *terror* and *terrorism* seems to entail the same meanings in everyday life, and most people would not pay much attention to the difference between the two. However, some will argue that there are subtle distinctions between them. *Collins Cobuild English dictionary* defines *terror* as either a 'very great fear' or 'violence or threat of violence, especially when it is used for political reasons'. While *terrorism* is defined as 'the use of violence, especially murder and bombing, in order to achieve political aims or to force a government to do something'. Although *Collins Cobuild* does not make any major distinction between the two terms, it appears that the term *terror* can be used as a wider term than *terrorism*. While *terrorism* is defined as the use of violence, *terror* can include threats of terror and very great fear. Steven Poole argues in his book *Unspeak* that there in fact is a very important difference.

> 'The choice of 'terror' in the slogan [war on terror] rather than 'terrorism', […], was useful as it enables its users to elide any distinction between suicide bombers and repressive dictators…There was for some time a useful distinction available between 'terror', understood as the violent actions of a state against its own population, and 'terrorism', understood as a violent act against civilians intended to coerce a government. 'The war on terror' deliberately erased such differences (Poole 2006:155)'.

Poole's allegations raise the question of whether the difference in the frequency of use between *terror* and *terrorism* between Bush and Blair, is a matter of stylistics or a rhetorical device. The terms *terror* and *terrorism* was used simultaneously in the first speeches Bush delivered following 11 September. In the first speech of the Bush corpus, which was delivered on 11 September 2001, the word *terror* only occurs in the collocation *acts of terror*. However, Bush towards the end refers to *the war against terrorism*.

(40) America and our friends and allies join with all those who want peace and security in the world, and we stand together to win the war against terrorism.
[GWB 11.09.01]

In the speech delivered on 7 October 2001 we are once again faced with the word *terrorism* rather than *terror*.

(41) This military action is a part of our campaign against terrorism, another front in a war that has already been joined through diplomacy, intelligence, the freezing of financial assets and the arrests of known terrorists by law enforcement agents in 38 countries.
[GWB 07.10.01]

The shift from *terrorism* to *terror* occurs between the speeches Bush delivered on 8 and 10 November 2001.

(42) A terrorism alert is not a signal to stop your life.
[GWB 08.11.01]

(43) We will defend ourselves and our future against terror and lawless violence.
[GWB 10.11.01]

The slogan *war on terror* is one in a long line of *war on …* slogans which can be traced backward through history to Lyndon B Johnson's use of the phrase 'war on poverty' (Dypedahl and Hasselgård 2004:32).

As mentioned above, *terrorists* is much more frequent in the Bush corpus than the Blair corpus. A closer investigation of the occurrences shows that the number of occurrences reaches double digits in four speeches,[24] but the speech delivered on 7 December 2005, has twice as many occurrences as any other with a total of 30 occurrences.

3. 2.5 Freedom

Freedom occurs nearly four times as often in the Bush corpus as in the Blair corpus (79 and 22 times respectively). 7 out of 19 speeches in the Blair corpus contain *freedom*, compared to all but 1 speech in the Bush corpus. In 1 of the 7 speeches in the Blair corpus which contain

[24] 8 November 2001, 10 November 2001, 7 November 2003, 7 December 2005.

freedom, *freedom* occurs 12 times. Interestingly, this speech was made on 18 July 2003 to the US Congress. This indicates that Blair's brief interest in freedom was a reflection of the interests of his audience. This complements the findings of the use of metaphors. The only time Blair utilized the GOOD IS LIGHT metaphor was in this speech which implicitly referred to the American core values (cf. 3.1.1). The collocation function of WordSmith is not able to find any interesting collocates of *freedom* in the Blair corpus, but reveals that the collocation *freedom and opportunity* occurs 5 times in the Bush corpus.

3. 2.6 Iraqi

Iraqi is among the 35 most frequent words in the Bush corpus, but does not rank as high in the Blair corpus (cf. table 3.1). Iraqi does not occur in the first seven speeches of the Bush corpus (delivered between 11 September 2001 and 11 September 2002), but occurs in all the remaining 12 speeches (cf. table 3.6). This could be and indication that the shift in focus from Al Qaida and Afghanistan to Saddam Hussein and Iraq took place between the delivery of speeches 7 and 8 (delivered on 11 September 2002 and 7 October 2002). This shift in focus is also indicated in the Blair corpus. *Iraqi* does not occur in the Blair corpus until the seventh speech, delivered on 10 September 2002. Table 3.6 shows that more than one third of all occurrences of *Iraqi* occur in one speech, delivered on 7 December 2005. In addition to differences in the overall use of Iraqi in the Blair and Bush corpora, it is interesting to note that; while Blair does not use *Iraqi* in any of the three speeches delivered in 2005, Bush has an increased use of *Iraqi* in his last three speeches, delivered between 10 May 2004 and 18 December 2005 (cf. tables 3.5 an 3.6). By using the Concordance function in WordSmith we find that Iraqi occurs in several clusters in the Bush corpus (the frequency are given in parentheses):

the Iraqi people (38)
the Iraqi regime (14)

of the Iraqi (13)
Iraqi security forces (12)
the Iraqi government (7)
to the Iraqi (6)
with the Iraqi (5)

This shows that Bush uses *the Iraqi people* more than twice as often as *the Iraqi regime*. *The Iraqi people* and *of the Iraqi* clusters can also be found in the Blair corpus, where they occur 19 and 9 times respectively. The occurrences of *the Iraqi people* make up approximately half of all uses of Iraqi in the Blair corpus (cf. 3.5).

3.3 A brief summary of findings.

This brief introduction to some common ways to express ideologies has shown both similarities and differences between the two speakers. Blair and Bush share a belief that they are on the side of good and that terrorism and those connected to it are evil. Their battle is not merely the concrete battle against an opponent, but a moral and ethical battle between good and evil. Although they share these basic beliefs, the brief investigation of word choices reveals that their beliefs and values are not identical. Although the subject matter and goal are the same, the two speakers put emphasis on different aspects of the situation, and wish to fight the battle using different means. Blair's references to inspectors, the international community and a UN resolution show that he is concerned with doing things by the rules with the support of the UN. Bush on the other hand is more concerned with freedom, terror and the Iraqi people, which could illustrate that he is more concerned with acting for the right reasons, than acting according to the will of a unified UN.

Chapter 4

Rhetorical devices

Chapter 4 seeks to discuss some common rhetorical devices (cf. section 2.2.2.4) and investigate how these are used by Blair and Bush in the respective corpora. This investigation will discuss similarities and differences between the use and application of rhetorical devices, as well as a discussion of effects of the use of the individual devices. In connection with analyses, examples have been given bold text or underlining in order to illustrate the workings of the rhetorical devices.

4.1 The model of testimony

The model of testimony is a rhetorical device where witness testimonies are used as verification for the speaker's stance (cf. 2.2.1.2). It is described as 'the weakest topoi' because its value depends on the credibility of the witness, but it is very effective if the speaker is able to convince the audience that the witness has clout and credibility (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992:69). Although both speakers use testimonies, there appears to be a difference in the way Blair and Bush utilize their potential effect.

(1) [GWB 08.11.01]

I recently received a letter from a 4th-grade girl that seemed to say it all: "I don't know how to feel," she said, "sad, mad, angry. It has been different lately. I know the people in New York are scared because of the World Trade Center and all, but if we're scared, we are giving the terrorists all the power." In the face of this great tragedy, Americans are refusing to give terrorists the power. <Applause.> Our people have responded with courage and compassion, calm and reason, resolve and fierce determination. We have refused to live in a state of panic -- or a state of denial. There is a difference between being alert and being intimidated -- and this great nation will never be intimidated.

Here Bush uses a letter from a little girl to justify the feelings of the American people. He puts a face on some very common emotions, so that it is easier for people in the audience to come to terms with their own feelings. Then he turns their feelings around by showing how this little girl is able to put her feelings aside and fight. By doing this he potentially wakens a voice in the adult audience that says: 'If this 4th grade girl can put her fears aside and fight the terrorists, so can I!'

This is clearly an alternative use of the model of testimony, and it is used very cleverly. It is disguised as a simple story, an anecdote from every day America. But the truth is that this story is very effective: it appeals to the feelings of the listener (or reader), and possibly without the listener giving it much thought.

Ironically, the identity of this little girl is never revealed to us in this speech. In fact, we cannot be totally sure that she ever wrote a letter, or even that this particular girl exists. We have no reason to suspect that the President is lying to his audience, and the exact identity of the girl is irrelevant. Regardless of whether or not this letter and this girl exist, the mention of this letter has an incredible testimony effect on the audience.

George W. Bush likes to give America people to sympathize with. This investigation shows that he wants to give faces and names to the victims of 11 September 2001. By giving these people names and faces he does not allow them to remain numbers in the statistics, but gives them lives and families. These names and faces become people we could know, our friends, our family and our neighbours. This is a very powerful rhetorical technique which appeals to the audience's emotions (pathos) (cf. 2.2.1.2).

One of the victims of 11 September 2001 who George W. Bush brought to the attention of the American people was Jeremy Glick of Flight 93. Glick was credited with the decision to crash the plane he was on before it could hit a target on the ground. He thus became one of the heroes of 11 September 2001. Although we were told the name Jeremy Glick, he is still a symbol. He has been made the symbol of the people who were on the planes that crashed on 11 September 2001.

(2) [GWB 11.12.01] We are privileged to have with us the families of many of the heroes on September the 11th, including the family of Jeremy Glick of Flight 93. His courage and self-sacrifice may have saved the White House. It is right and fitting that it is here we pay our respects.

.

In his speech from 10 November 2001 Bush gives lives to three of the foreign victims who died in the World Trade Center.

(3) [GWB 10.11.01] Those names include a citizen of Gambia, whose wife spent their fourth wedding anniversary, September the 12th, searching in vain for her husband. Those names include a man who supported his wife in Mexico, sending home money every week. Those names include a young Pakistani who prayed toward Mecca five times a day, and died that day trying to save others.

By giving the American people information about the lives of three people with different international backgrounds, Bush is able to make this an international incident. The victims of 11 September 2001 were not merely citizens of New York or the United States, but citizens of the world. Thus the attacks on WTC and Pentagon were not only attacks on the United States, but could be considered attacks on the world.

Testimonies are also used by Bush to personalize the people of Iraq.

(4) [GWB 18.12.05] One Iraqi, after dipping his finger in the purple ink as he cast his ballot, stuck his finger in the air and said: "This is a thorn in the eyes of the terrorists." Another voter was asked, "Are you Sunni or Shia?" And he responded, "I am Iraqi."

Once again the witnesses remain anonymous. Nevertheless, we do not necessarily need to know their names in order to acknowledge their position as representatives for the Iraqi people. On the other hand, their anonymity once again allows us to question the authenticity of the testimonies. The audience is not able to approach these voters and ask whether or not they have been quoted correctly.

Blair also utilizes testimony, but he predominantly uses more traditional testimonies than Bush, particularly expert testimonies from people that have been established as credible sources.

(5) [TB 03.02.03] As Dr Blix, the UN Chief Inspector reported last week, "Iraq appears not to have come to a genuine acceptance - not even today - of the disarmament which was demanded of it." He said that Iraq's declaration seemed to contain no new evidence; that there are indications that Iraq has weaponised the nerve agent VX, one of the most toxic ever developed; that there are strong indications that Iraq produced more anthrax than it has declared; and that the discovery of chemical rocket warheads could be the tip of an iceberg.

(6) [TB 05.03.04] As Dr Kay, the former head of the ISG who is now quoted as a critic of the war has said: "Iraq was in clear violation of the terms of Resolution 1441". And "I actually think this [Iraq] may be one of those cases where it was even more dangerous than we thought."

Both experts quoted are identified. This requires a correct quote, and is less likely to be manipulated to fit the speaker's agenda.

In addition to established experts, Blair also refers to an Iraqi exile who testifies of the situation in Iraq.

(7) [TB 18.03.03] I recall a few weeks ago talking to an Iraqi exile and saying to her that I understood how grim it must be under the lash of Saddam."But you don't", she replied. "You cannot. You do not know what it is like to live in perpetual fear." And she is right.

Unlike the previously mentioned examples, this woman is anonymous. Her credibility and expert status is given to her by her status as Iraqi in exile, which emphasizes the grim and intolerable life in Iraq. As mentioned above, the anonymity of the witness diminishes the credibility of the testimony.

Testimonies can bring a level of credibility to a speech if the speaker is able to account for the credibility of its witnesses, and if the audience accepts the expert knowledge. Unlike Blair who tends to quote established experts, Bush likes to refer to 'ordinary people', i.e. people that represent members of his audience. He takes advantage of the commonality between his witnesses and the addressee. This makes the witnesses relatable. This difference in witness credibility can create a difference in rhetorical effect. Blair's use of expert witnesses adds reason (logos) to his speeches, while Bush's use of the testimonies of ordinary people perhaps appeal more to emotions (pathos) than reason. Although the appeal to reason is present if the audience accept their credibility (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992: 69ff) (cf. 2.2.1.2).

4.2 References to God and prayer in the two corpora.

The battle between light and dark, and good and evil is present in both corpora. Through the speeches we learn that both speakers view themselves and the western civilization as 'good' forces, forces of 'light'. At the same time, Al Qaida, Iraq, Saddam Hussein and terrorists in general are viewed as 'evil' forces, forces of 'darkness'. Light and goodness are rarely defined, but because of our (the reader's) ideologies which we can presume to share with the two speakers, we infer that 'good' and 'light' represent a positive force, which by many would be considered an extension of God. God plays a more prominent role in the Bush corpus than in the Blair corpus.

Table 4. 1: References to God or prayer in the Blair and Bush corpora.

	God	Prayer[25]	Others	Quote	Total
Blair	3	3	0	0	6
Bush	18	16	4	2	39

[25] In addition to *prayer*, this category also include *pray*, *prayers* and *praying*.

While *God* is mentioned 18 times in the Bush corpus, it is found a mere 3 times in the Blair corpus. However, not all of the occurrences should be taken as an expression of the speaker's own religious conviction.

It is very interesting to see that these two politicians, who are both admittedly Christians,[26] have completely different relationships to God in their political lives. Why is it important whether or not the speakers refer to God in their speeches? Bush has on several occasions spoken of his Christian beliefs. Early in his campaign to become the President of the United States, he was asked which philosopher had had the greatest impact on him. Bush answered that it was Jesus, who had changed his heart. When he later was asked whether he was afraid that such statements could have an excluding effect, he answered that he could not worry about that, because that was the honest answer (Johansen 2002:73). The speaker's relationship with God could be viewed as irrelevant, but references to God can also be a rhetorical device. If a politician portrays himself as a good Christian, or merely a man with religious beliefs, this has the potential to influence his ethos. A strong religious platform will indicate the speaker's values, and most religions have a platform of love, kindness, respect, honesty and family values which are considered to be positive qualities. Thus a religious belief would strengthen the speaker's credibility. However, it should be noted that if the speaker crosses the line between expressing his own religious beliefs, and convincing others to support a religion, the speaker would be considered a preacher and possibly loose support. A 'preachy' way of talking to an audience would also risk harming the speaker's credibility, seeing as people are generally sceptical to preachers that are trying to force something on them.

[26] Blair's Christian beliefs is discussed in Charteris-Black (2005:146), while Bush's Christian beliefs are discussed in Johansen (2002:73).

Bush has the habit of ending many of his speeches with a wish that God will look after and take care of America. The simple phrase ‘May God Bless America’ is used only two times, but it occurs in expanded and adapted versions throughout the corpus.

(8) May **God** bless America.
[GWB 11.09.02]

(9) May **God** bless the people of Iraq, and may **God** bless America. Thank you.
[GWB 23.09.03]

Example (8) shows the simple phrase, while (9) is an example of an expanded phrase. Bush concludes a total of 12 out of 19 speeches with a reference to God: 13 if we decide to add his quote of a Christmas carol.

(10) "**God** is not dead, nor [does] He sleep; the Wrong shall fail, the Right prevail, with peace on Earth, goodwill to men."
[GWB 18.12.05]

It should also be added that one occurrence of God clearly refers to the Islamic God, Allah. The other 17 occurrences are on the other hand expressions of the ideologies of the speaker and his culture.

Blair’s three references to God should all be interpreted as references to Allah, and thus should not be considered as an expression of personal beliefs. All the same, Blair reveals his belief that God will judge everyone after death, thus expressing his belief in a higher power.

(11) …; we know there are states in the Middle East now actively funding and helping people who regard it as God's will, in the act of suicide to take as many innocent lives with them on their way to God's judgement.
[TB 18.07.03]

One of Bush’s references to God is particularly interesting. In his speech on 10 November 2001, Bush refers to ‘the God of Isaac and Ishmael’. This does not merely refer to the Muslim god Allah, but also to the Christian God. Isaac and Ishmael refer to the sons of Abraham

(Compton's Interactive Encyclopedia 1994-95). While Ishmael became 'the father' of all Muslims, Isaac became 'the father' of Jews and Christians. By referring to 'the God of Isaac and Ishmael', Bush implicitly refers to the commonality between Muslims, Christians and Jews.

(12) [GWB 10.11.01] They dare to ask **God**'s blessing as they set out to kill innocent men, women and children. But the **God** of Isaac and Ishmael would never answer such a **prayer**.

By laying claim on the God in question, Bush gains authority. He is in a way able to speak on behalf of God, since it is not merely the God of the enemy, but his own God as well.

The category in table 4.1 labelled *others* includes references to God which uses another name.

(13) [GWB 11.09.01] And I pray they will be comforted **by a power greater than any of us**, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23: "Even though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I fear no evil, for You are with me."

(14) [GWB 08.11.01] Led by a young man [Jeremy Glick] whose last known words were **the Lord's Prayer** and "Let's roll."

(15) [GWB 11.09.02] Each of us was reminded that we are here only for a time, and these counted days ***should*** be filled with things that last and matter: love for our families, love for our neighbors, and for our country; gratitude for life and to **the Giver of life**.

(16) [GWB 11.09.02] Our deepest national conviction is that every life is precious, because every life is the gift of a **Creator** who intended us to live in liberty and equality.

(13) which includes a quote from Psalm 23 refer to God as *a power greater than any of us*. (14) includes a reference to God/ the Lord by referring to the Lord's Prayer. This example does not directly show the speaker's ideologies, but it shows the importance of God in a dying American's last moments. The fact that the speaker chooses to mention the Lord's Prayer is however a further affirmation on the role of religion in the American consciousness and society. (15) refers to God as the Giver of Life. This is one of the few places where Bush places himself beneath the authority of another being/entity. In (16) God/ the Creator is portrayed as an undisputed higher power within the American culture.

In addition to the references to God, this analysis has also counted the different ways the speaker's refer to prayers, seeing as this is usually connected to a communication with a god. Once again, Bush refers to prayers more often Blair.

Throughout the corpus, Bush continues to ask his audience to pray for the people who are going through a difficult time. Blair's Christian faith is primarily shown through the three times he asks the British people to pray. This request shows a religious belief, which in Blair's case we can assume to be Christianity. Like Blair, Bush also sends prayers. However, 2 occurrences of prayer listed in table 4.1 do not refer to the American community, but rather to the Muslim community.

In a comparison of the two speakers we must never loose sight of the fact that although these two speakers come from similar cultural backgrounds, they are separated by some very distinctive differences. One such difference can be the place of religion in the official society. Although both the United Kingdom and the United States practice religious freedom for their population, the United States is especially proud and protective of their freedom of religion. They are firm believers that religion should be a private and personal choice. Nevertheless, God and religion plays an important part in the political everyday life. We can assume that it is more acceptable for Bush to ask God to bless America, than for Blair to ask God to bless Britain.

4.3 The use of questions as a rhetorical device

Rhetorical questions have become part of our everyday life. Even if you are not sure what rhetoric is, you are probably familiar with rhetorical questions. Questions are typically posed

in order to gather information, or to get an answer from someone. A rhetorical question[27] differs from a typical question by the fact that although it is directed at an audience, it does not expect a direct reply (Abrams 1999:271). The rhetorical question is used to assert a fact. The question is asked allowing the audience to ask themselves the same question, and before the audience has had a proper opportunity to answer the question, the speech continues. Often the speaker says something that eliminates all but one possible answer. The speaker is taking the audience through a series of leading questions that convey the speaker's own through process and reasoning.

An analysis of the use of questions in the two corpora reveals that Blair uses considerably more questions than Bush.

Table 4. 2: The use of questions in the Blair corpus and Bush corpus.[28]

	RQ	Q & A	SQ[29]	Quotes	Others	Total
Blair	32	20	5	0	1	58
Bush	8	1	0	3	0	12

Blair uses questions more than four times as often as Bush. Since Bush only uses RQs on a few occasions, this section will focus on examples from the Blair corpus.

Many of the speeches included in the Blair corpus shows a Prime Minister who has to work hard to convince his audience. Therefore Blair relies on reason (logos) rather than emotions (pathos). Blair's speeches are coloured by the fact that he wants the audience to understand why he has made the decisions he has made, and perhaps more importantly; why he did not choose an alternative course of action.

[27] From now on rhetorical question is primarily referred to as RQ.
[28] This table only includes questions which end with a question mark. Other possible questions where the transcriber may have forgotten to use the question mark are not taken into account.
[29] The category SQ refers to a group of selected questions Blair asks himself on behalf of the audience.

Blair uses questions in three similar, yet different ways. Firstly, he asks the traditional rhetorical questions (interrogátio).[30] Secondly, he asks questions and answers them himself (subjectio). [31] Thirdly, he asks questions on behalf of the audience. He poses questions which he believes the audience would ask. Although these three ways of using questions seem similar, they can have different effects on an audience. Thus, the use of all three forms of questions can be complementary.

Rhetorical questions are preferred when Blair is confident that the audience will agree with him. The questions are often stated in a way that makes it very difficult for an audience not to agree without going against the basic ideologies in British culture.

(17) [TB 25.02.03]

Is it not reasonable that Saddam provides evidence of destruction of the biological and chemical agents and weapons the UN proved he had in 1999? So far he has provided none.

Is it not reasonable that he provides evidence that he has destroyed 8,500 litres of anthrax that he admitted possessing, and the 2,000 kilos of biological growth material, enough to produce over 26,000 litres of anthrax?

Is it not reasonable that Saddam accounts for up to 360 tonnes of bulk chemical warfare agent, including 1½ tonnes of VX nerve agents, 3,000 tonnes of precursor chemicals, and over 30,000 special munitions?

The examples listed above shows a list of three RQs listed in an argument made by Blair on 25 February 2003. The RQs are separated only by a short comment between the first and the second RQ. This comment does not constitute an answer. Here Blair confronts the audience with three very strong and leading questions. By asking these questions, he makes the audience agree with him and thus gives them the chance to follow his reasoning and understand why his decisions are necessary. It is a very effective rhetorical device which has the potential to slowly change the minds of listeners.

[30] Johannesson (2006:281)
[31] Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992:157)

Not all questions posed by Blair are clearly rhetorical. Some questions do get answers. But instead of letting the audience provide an answer to the question, he himself provides it. On several occasions Blair asks a question, just in order to tell the audience what he believes is the answer.

This raises questions for this investigation; why does he not merely state the solution to the problem? Why does he feel that it is necessary to ask the question and then answer it? The answer must be that this way of expressing his opinion has greater impact than merely giving an answer. When an audience is asked a question, the mind listens. It gives the brain an activity. Instead of just listening and accepting what the speaker is telling them, they get a chance to participate. In other words, it is a way to get the audience's attention. The speaker creates the illusion that he is conferring with the audience. It creates a break in the speech. But like with the rhetorical questions, this is not an authentic use of a question. Thus the answer is given shortly after the question is posed. The brain is given time to react, but still not enough time to come up with the appropriate solution if he has not thought about this question in advance. Blair is able to wake up the thought process in his listeners, but they are not allowed to finish the process. Instead, the answer is handed to them and they have to decide whether or not they accept the answer in a short amount of time before the speaker continues in his argumentation. Thus, a question and answer sequence can be a very effective way to convince an audience that you have solid arguments. At times, the most important fact is that the speaker is able to make the arguments sound solid and founded on rational and logical trains of thought.

(18) Q:What changed his [Saddam Hussein] mind?
[TB 18.03.03] A: The threat of force. From December to January and then from January to February, concessions were made.

(19) Q: What changed his mind?

[TB 18.03.03] A: The threat of force.

(20) Q: And what makes him now issue invitations to the inspectors, discover documents he said
[TB 18.03.03] he never had, produce evidence of weapons supposed to be non-existent, destroy missiles he said he would keep?
A: The imminence of force.

In examples (18)-(20), Blair asks the same question twice; what changed Saddam Hussein's mind? He gives the answer after both questions. Then he strengthens his question by giving additional information. The answer is still that it is necessary to use force in order to stop Iraq from producing WMD. Blair asks questions, and then answers them in a way that seems extremely logical. Everything is formulated in a way which makes it very difficult to disagree with his conclusions. The easiest reaction would be to agree. And even if you disagree, the strong formulation would probably make you hesitate before objecting.
Thus asking a question, before giving the answer is a very persuasive rhetorical device.

Blair's use of questions is largely a matter of control. Throughout the corpus, Blair asks questions on behalf of the audience (SQ in table 4.2). He then answers them as though the questions were asked by an interviewer. This is a very powerful technique. Blair knows that the audience may have questions and doubts. He acknowledges their questions and even addresses them. This gives the audience a feeling of being heard. At the same time Blair is in complete control of how he chooses to address the question. He is able to prepare the answer in advance, to raise the question at the most suitable time and no one can ask him any difficult follow-up questions.

(21) People ask: do the US listen to us and our preoccupations? And there is perhaps a lack of full
[TB 18.03.03] understanding of US preoccupations after 11th September. I know all of this.

In the example above, Blair asks a question he believes people would want to know. He does not give a complete answer. Instead he acknowledges their concern and agrees to a certain extent, but without saying that they are right. Agreeing with an opponent in an argument is a technique used in several different areas of study, for instance in psychology where it is often used in connection with reflecting emotions. By agreeing with an opponent you are able to give something back to the opponent, and at the same time remove some of the focus and fighting spirit from him. How can you argue with someone who agrees with you? If you try, you are inevitably going to feel a bit foolish. Although agreeing with an opponent seems like a very decent action, it is a known rhetorical technique (concéssio).[32] It disarms the opponent, and if the speaker is able to confine the consequences, the opponent is forced to find new arguments.

If a speaker is able to convey to his audience that he understands their concerns, he is no longer an authoritative leader which makes all the decisions regardless of his people's beliefs, he is able to communicate with his people.

I have already listed three ways in which Blair uses questions as a rhetorical device. This does not mean that the three different ways of asking a question cannot be combined and borrow elements from each other. In the example below, we see an example of the RQ which borrows elements from questions indirectly asking question on behalf of the audience.

(22)	Up to this point, I believe many here in this hall would agree.	
[TB 10.09.02]	The question is: **how to proceed?**	The RQ
	I totally understand the concerns of people about precipitate military action.	Reflection
	Military action should only ever be a last resort.	Agreement
	On the four major occasions that I have authorised it as Prime Minister, it has been when no other option remained.	Justification

[32] (Johannesson 2006: 278)

In the example listed above Blair starts by laying the foundation. His point of departure in this paragraph is something that most people would agree on. Then he asks the rhetorical question: *how to proceed?* The audience is not given a concrete solution: instead he tells the audience that he understands them, secondly that he agrees with them, and thirdly he supports his claims by referring to past actions.

As shown in table 4.2, Bush uses considerably fewer questions than Blair. The Bush corpus contains 12 questions, where 3 are found in quotations. 8 out of the remaining questions are RQs, and 1 occurrence is a question and answer sequence. (23) below is an example of Bush's use of rhetorical questions. Here it functions as a summary.

(23) Since we all agree on this goal, the issues is : how can we best achieve it?
[GWB 07.10.02]

It is obvious that asking questions is an effective way to make the audience take part in the speech without actually having to participate in a dialogue. It creates the illusion of communication, even though the thoughts and beliefs of the individual audience members have little or no impact on the speaker's message.

4.4 Three-part list

The three-part list is a very common rhetorical device used to create unity and increase the power of a statement (cf. 2.2.2.4). We find several examples in both corpora. Some examples of Blair's use of the tree-part list are given below:

(24) We've offered President Bush and the American people our solidarity, our
[TB 11.09.01] profound sympathy, and our prayers.

(25) We were all reared on battles between great warriors, between great nations, between
[TB 18.07.03] powerful forces and ideologies that dominated entire continents.

(26) Think of it preparing to reach out even to Turkey, a nation of vastly different culture,

[TB 18.07.03] tradition and religion, and welcome it in.

(27) [TB 11.07.05] We are united in our determination that our country will not be defeated by such terror but will defeat it and emerge from this horror with our values, our way of life, our tolerance and respect for others, undiminished.

(28) [TB 14.09.05] … and also by eliminating our own ambivalence, by fighting not just the methods of this terrorism but their motivation, their twisted reasoning, their wretched excuse for terror.

(24) shows three symbolic gifts Blair has given Bush and the American people on behalf of the British people. In (25), Blair lists three sets of opponents, on three different levels. First, he lists the actual combatants, secondly, the nations they represent, and thirdly the underlying beliefs that form the basis of the battles. Example (26) shows the differences within Turkey. These are three different words which to some extent carry the same general meaning, or at least show three sides of the same concept. *Culture*, *tradition* and *religion* are three sides of a person's identity. In example (27), Blair lists three qualities he believes are shared by *we*, the British people. Blair views the British *values*, *way of life* and *tolerance and respect for others* as positive qualities which are under attack, and need to be protected. All three constituents begin with the pronoun *our* which emphasizes the unity these three qualities represent. (28) shows that the enemy is not merely the methods of terrorism, but three negative concepts which these methods are built on.

The list below show some of the examples of three-part lists found in the Bush corpus:

(29) [GWB 11.09.01] The pictures of airplanes flying into buildings, fires burning, huge structures collapsing, have filled us with disbelief, terrible sadness, and a quiet, unyielding anger.

(30) [GWB 19.03.03] Saddam Hussein has placed Iraqi troops and equipment in civilian areas, attempting to use innocent men, women and children as shields for his own military -- a final atrocity against his people.

(31) [GWB 23.09.03] Twenty-four months ago -- and yesterday in the memory of America -- the center of New York City became a battlefield, and a graveyard, and the symbol of an unfinished war.

(32) [GWB 10.05.04 In and around Fallujah, U.S. Marines are maintaining pressure on Saddam loyalists and foreign fighters and other militants.

(33) [GWB 07.12.05] They've gone from living under the boot of a brutal tyrant, to liberation, to free elections, to a democratic constitution.

(29) mentions three emotional responses to the physical acts of flying two airplanes into the WTC. Example (30) humanizes the people of Iraq by not simply referring to them as innocent people, but rather divides them into *men*, *women* and *children*. The latter two groups emphasize the vulnerability of women and children by mentioning them separately, and not just as part of the generic word *people*. In (31), Bush shows the new roles given to the center of New York City. On 11 September 2001, the center of New York City first became a battlefield, where people fought for their lives. Secondly, it became a graveyard since thousands of people died. Thirdly, it became a symbol after the rubble and bodies were removed, and all that was left was a giant crater. (32) mentions the enemies the military are monitoring. (33) lists the positive results that have come as a result of the removal of Saddam Hussein. All three parts are structured as a destination and begin with the preposition *to*.

This investigation confirms that the three-part list is a common rhetorical device, embedded within traditional rhetorical speech. The fact that both speakers use this device is not surprising; it simply confirms their position as skilled users of rhetorical devices.

4.5 Contrastive pairs

Contrastive pairs are another traditional rhetorical device utilized by both speakers (cf. 2.2.2.4). Note that contrastive pairs are closely related to parallelism. The contrastive pairs are often emphasized by placing the contrasting elements in syntactically parallel sentences (Beard 2000:40). These are some of the contrastive pairs found in the Blair corpus:

(34) [TB 11-09-01] This is not a battle between the United States of America and terrorism, but between the free and democratic world and terrorism.

(35) [TB 24-09-02] And if people say: why should Britain care? I answer: because there is no way that this man, in this region above all regions, could begin a conflict using such weapons and the consequences not engulf the whole world.

(36) [TB 20-03-03] America didn't attack Al Qaida. They attacked America.

(37) [TB 07-07-05] When they try to intimidate us, we will not be intimidated. When they seek to change our country or our way of life by these methods, we will not be changed. When they try to divide our people or weaken our resolve, we will not be divided and our resolve will hold firm.

(38) [TB 14-09-05] It will not be defeated until our determination is as complete as theirs, our defence of freedom as absolute as their fanaticism, until our passion for the democratic way is as great as their passion for tyranny.

In (34), Blair contrasts the combatants in the war against terrorism. It is not the United States of America that fights terrorism, but the free and democratic world. Thus all countries that consider themselves free and democratic, or wish to be considered free and democratic by others, ought to consider themselves combatants in the war against terrorism. This contrastive pair occurs in the statements delivered shortly after the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001, and is meant to show solidarity with the United States (America). In example (35), Blair contrasts answers and questions. He asks a question on behalf of the public, and then answers it himself. (36) contrasts the attacks on Afghanistan and Iraq with the 11 September 2001 attacks by emphasizing that Al Qaida was the first to attack. America has simply responded. This was an important argument to justify the attacks on Afghanistan. Here the contrastive pair occurs in the speech where Blair states that British and US forces are invading Iraq. This invasion was very unpopular, and it was therefore important to portray this as self-defence rather than an attack. (37) shows three contrastive pairs lined up to emphasize the differences between the terrorists (they) and the British people (us). The terrorists' attempts to destroy Britain are contrasted with the British ability to stay strong together. This is a boost of moral delivered to the British public shortly after the London bombings on 7 July 2005. In

(38) we have three contrastive pairs listed in a three-part list. Here *our* is contrasted with *theirs*, *freedom* is contrasted with *fanaticism*, and *the democratic way* with *tyranny*.

The following examples show the use of contrastive pairs in the Bush corpus:

(39) [GWB 11-09-01] Terrorist attacks can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America. These acts shattered steel, but they cannot dent the steel of American resolve.

(40) [GWB 08-11-01] We value life; the terrorists ruthlessly destroy it. We value education; the terrorists do not believe women should be educated or should have health care, or should leave their homes. We value the right to speak our minds; for the terrorists, free expression can be grounds for execution. We respect people of all faiths and welcome the free practice of religion; our enemy wants to dictate how to think and how to worship even to their fellow Muslims.

(41) [GWB 19-03-03] We will meet that threat now, with our Army, Air Force, Navy, Coast Guard and Marines, so that we do not have to meet it later with armies of fire fighters and police and doctors on the streets of our cities.

(42) [GWB 07-09-03] Together we are transforming a place of torture chambers and mass graves into a nation of laws and free institutions.

(43) [GWB 18-12-05] We do not create terrorism by fighting the terrorists. We invite terrorism by ignoring them.

(44) [GWB 11-12-01] We will remember what we lost and what we found.

In (39), Bush tries to emphasize that although the terrorists may have caused much damage physically, it is not that easy to destroy the values and resolve of America. (40) shows four contrastive pairs which emphasize the differences between *we* (America) and *the terrorists*. While the US values life, education, free speech and respect of people's faiths, the terrorists wish to destroy these values. This argument was important in depicting the battle not between a terrorist group and the US, but between values. These contrastive pairs turn this into a battle between freedom and oppression. In (41) *now* is contrasted with *later*. Bush says that it is better to deal with Al Qaida offensively, rather than wait for another attack like 11 September 2001. (42) contrasts Iraq before and after the invasion in March 2003. This is an important argument in the discussion of the invasion in Iraq. This speech was made approximately six months after the invasion. The American and British forces had not found any weapons of

mass destruction and it was important to show that they had made progress. In (43) Bush defends the combats in Iraq, and denies that these combats increase the possibility of terrorist attacks. (44) allows Bush to contrast both loss and gain that resulted from the events on 11 September 2001. Even though lives where lost, the American people found a sense of community and courage it did not have before these events. Thus, some things were lost, while others were found.

4.6 Personal pronouns

The current analysis poses some dilemmas. Since the present study deals with corpora which do not have homogenous groups of addressees, it is difficult to give an exhaustive analysis of the exact reference of personal pronouns such as *we*, *you* and *they*, and the proportional distribution to different referents. Instead I will primarily focus on the inclusive or exclusive use of a selected group of pronouns which can be used with different referents. Ambiguous uses will be discussed where such can shed light on rhetorical strategies and patterns which give meaning to the communicative function.

Table 4. 3: Distribution of personal pronouns

		First person		Second person		Third person	
	Total	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Blair	1833	909	49.6	94	5.1	830	45.3
Bush	1411	862	61.1	76	5.4	473	33.5

Table 4.3 shows that Blair uses more personal pronouns than Bush. The largest deviation is found among the third person pronouns and will be discussed in section 4.6.3.

4.6.1 First person pronouns

Table 4. 4: First person pronouns

	Singular				Plural				Total use of 1st person pronouns
	I	**%**	**me**	**%**	**We**	**%**	**Us**	**%**	
Blair	**262**	**28.8**	**35**	**3.9**	**496**	**54.6**	**116**	**12.9**	**909**

Bush	**151**	**17.5**	**14**	**1.6**	**617**	**71.6**	**80**	**9.3**	**862**

Table 4.4 shows the occurrence of first person pronouns. It shows that Blair uses *I* more often than Bush, while Bush uses *we* more often than Blair. Although the fact that Blair and Bush use different pronouns and a study of these numbers could be interesting, it is more interesting for this study of persuasive language to investigate whether or not pronoun use follows a pattern, or is simply a matter of personal choice.

Although Blair uses *I* more often than Bush, an analysis shows that they use the pronoun the same way. Both speakers primarily use *I* in order to refer to themselves. The first person singular pronoun is often used to refer to the actual situation of speech making.

(45) [TB 14.11.01] For obvious reasons, **I** cannot give the House full details of how those troops may be used.

(46) [TB 03.02.03] Mr Speaker, can **I** first tell the House that **I** have sent messages of condolence to President Bush and Prime Minister Sharon following the break-up of the Columbia space shuttle on Saturday.

(47) [GWB 06.06.02] Good evening. During the next few minutes, **I** want to update you on the progress we are making in our war against terror, and to propose sweeping changes that will strengthen our homeland against the ongoing threat of terrorist attacks.

(48) [GWB 07.10.02] Thank you all. Thank you for that very gracious and warm Cincinnati welcome. **I**'m honored to be here tonight; **I** appreciate you all coming.

The interesting aspect of the use of first person singular pronouns is whether or not the speaker takes explicit personal responsibility for what he is saying. We can find some clear examples where Bush and Blair refer to themselves in forceful statements.

(49) [TB 07.10.01] On the diplomatic and political front in the time **I**'ve been Prime Minister **I** cannot recall a situation that has commanded so quickly such a powerful coalition of support and not just from those countries directly involved in military action but from many others in all parts of the world.

(50) [GWB 07.12.05] And now the terrorists think they can make America run in Iraq, and that is not going to happen so long as **I**'m the Commander-in-Chief.

(51) [GWB 07.10.02] As your President, **I** am responsible for the decision to go into Iraq. Yet it was right to remove Saddam Hussein from power.

However, some uses of *I* cannot be counted as personal references due to the fact that they occur in quotes. This happens in both corpora, but is more frequent in the Bush corpus than the Blair corpus. This could be due to Bush's more extensive use of testimonies (cf. 4.1).

(52) [TB 05.03.04] As Dr Kay, the former head of the ISG who is now quoted as a critic of the war has said: "Iraq was in clear violation of the terms of Resolution 1441". And "**I** actually think this [Iraq] may be one of those cases where it was even more dangerous than we thought."

(53) [GWB 07.09.03] He [a captain in the 3rd Infantry Division in Baghdad] wrote about his pride in serving a just cause, and about the deep desire of Iraqis for liberty. "**I** see it," he said, "in the eyes of a hungry people every day here. They are starved for freedom and opportunity." And he concluded, "**I** just thought you'd like a note from the 'front lines of freedom.'"

Another important use of *I* is in the collective 'X and I'[33] which also occur in both corpora. However the occurrences are few with only 3 occurrences in the Blair corpus and 2 occurrences in the Bush corpus.

(54) [TB 03.02.03] In addition to Iraq, **President Bush and I** discussed the MEPP, Afghanistan and global poverty and development.

(55) [GWB 08.11.01] Both **Laura and I** were touched by a recent newspaper article that quoted a little four-year-old girl, who asked a telling and innocent question.

All three occurrences of 'X and I' in the Blair corpus refer to 'Bush and I'. In the Bush corpus, both uses of 'X and I' refer to Bush and his wife Laura.

The category named *other* refer to different uses of *I* where the speaker voices the opinion of others, or makes a statement on behalf of someone else, and does not then refer to himself and his opinions personally.

(56) [TB 14.09.01] **I** would like on behalf of the British people to express our admiration for the selfless bravery of the New York and American emergency services, many of whom lost their lives.

(57) [GWB 11.09.01] And on behalf of the American people, **I** thank the many world leaders who have called to offer their condolences and assistance.

[33] Here X refers to an unknown person.

In both examples listed above, the speakers both speak on behalf of their people due to their positions as leaders.

Table 4. 5: The different uses of the first person singular pronoun *I*

	Personal reference	'X and I'	Usage in quotes	Other uses
Blair	261	3	2	1
Bush	135	2	10	4

Different uses of *we*.

In speeches addressed to the nation, Blair differentiates between; 'we - the government', 'we - the coalition', 'we – the British people' and the generic use of *we*. The first two uses exclude the listener, while the last two include the listener.

(58) [TB – 13.11.01] You, the people, must agree your own government, and your own future, but we the coalition must give you the help and support that you need as you seek to rebuild your troubled country, and that support will be forthcoming.

Above, *we* refers to the coalition.

(59) [TB – 07.07.05] There will be announcements made in respect of the various services, in particular we hope the Underground, insofar as is possible, and rail and bus services are up and running as swiftly as possible

In example (57), *we* refers to the government.

(60) [TB – 20.03.05] It is true Saddam is not the only threat. But it is true also- as we British know- that the best way to deal with future threats peacefully, is to deal with present threats with resolve.

In speeches addressed to the Parliament, Blair has several potential referents for *we*. The most obvious referents are '*we* - the members of Parliament', '*we* - the government', 'Bush and I' and 'the UK and US (and sometimes Spain)'. The first referent is inclusive of the listener, while the other three referents exclude the listener. Sometimes it is difficult to know exactly who/what *we* refers to. This is particularly the case between the two additional uses 'we the people of Britain/ the world' and the generic use of *we*.

(61) [TB – 14.11.01] We the British are a people that stand by our friends in time of need, trial and tragedy, and we do so without hesitation now.

In the example above, *we* refers to the British people and is thus inclusive.

(62) As we speak, the total death toll is still unclear, but it amounts to several thousands.
[TB – 14.11.01]

Here, *we* is used to refer to people in general. Although *as we speak* could refer to the actual action of speech in the present moment, it is more likely an expression which refers to the moment itself and not the act of speaking. This is supported by the fact that Blair delivers a speech, a monologue, without any actual communication between the speaker and audience. In addition to common expressions, *we* is also used generically in an attempt to declare something a fact.

(63) We take our freedom for granted.
[TB – 18.03.03]

In this example, *we* refers to people in general. In the two speeches addressed to the UN, *we* either refers to members of the UN or to inclusively refer to the audience present. Here is an example of *we* used to refer to the audience present taken from the Trade Union Congress on 10 September 2002.

(64) Today we welcome Wellington Chibebe of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions.
[TB – 10.09.02]

In the speech where Blair addresses the US Congress there are many references where *we* refer to '*we* - the people'. It is difficult to draw the line between '*we* - the people' and the generic use of *we*. The important difference between the two is the effect that is created. The generic use of *we* is primarily a prop which refer to people in general, while *we* referring to the British people creates a sense of unity.

Like Blair, Bush has several different referents of the pronoun *we*. The most used referents of *we* are '*we* – America/ the American people', '*we* – the government'[34] and '*we* – America and our friends and allies'. The first use of *we* is inclusive of the addressee, while when *we* refers to the government it is exclusive of the addressee. The third use of *we* can often be ambiguous, and can only be interpreted by the context. *We* can in most occurrences be replaced by America, but it is sometimes difficult to know exactly who is included in the term America. At times America is used to refer to the American people, and is clearly trying to evoke a sense of unity. At other times, America tends to refer to the government or more precisely America as a military power. The ambiguity is especially common in parts of speeches which concern the military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan.

(65) [GWB 07.10.01] On my orders, the United States military has begun strikes against al Qaeda terrorist training camps ….We are joined in this operation by our staunch friend, Great Britain. Other close friends, including Canada, Australia, Germany and France, have pledged forces as the operation unfolds.

This example shows a use of *we* that can be interpreted as the United States military since we can replace *we* with the US military. Thus *we* has anaphoric reference to the previously mentioned US military. However, in the sentence where Bush uses *we*, as well as the following sentence, he lists some nations which he describes as friends. Since he merely lists the countries and not the military forces of these countries, one could argue that *we* refers to America. If *we* can be substituted by America, *we* can be interpreted both inclusive and exclusive of the addressee depending on whether Bush is talking about America, the military power, or America in general thus potentially including the American people.

When *we* is used to mean America in the beginning or end of speeches it is usually most natural to interpret *we* as the American people.

(66) The battle is now joined on many fronts. We will not waver; we will not tire;

[34] The reference of 'we - the government' is sometimes expanded to mean America the military power. 'We – the government' and 'we- the military power' are seen as the expanded referent of government because it is at times difficult to distinguish between the two, but neither include the addressee personally.

[GWB 07.10.01] we will not falter; and we will not fail. Peace and freedom will prevail.

Multiple occurrences of *we* towards the end usually functions as a boost of moral and gives the addressee a sense of unity and solidarity. Thus the ambiguous use of *we* elsewhere in the speech is very effective since it allows the addressee to take part in the story at the same time as it tells of actual performance by others.

4.6.2 Second person pronouns

Table 4. 6: Second person pronouns

	You	Your	Yours	Yourself	Yourselves	Total
Blair	96	25	4	0	0	125
Bush	76	36	1	0	0	113

You is often used by both Blair and Bush in speech acts directed at the audience. Both corpora have several examples of the speaker's thanking their audience, 8 instances in the Blair corpus and 23 instances in the Bush corpus. This is a popular way of ending speeches and thanking the audience for listening.

(67) May God bless the people of Iraq, and may God bless America. Thank you.
[GWB 14.12.03]

(68) That is why I have asked our troops to go into action tonight. As so often before, on the
[TB 20.03.03] courage and determination of British men and women, serving our country, the fate of many nations rests. Thank you.

Although this is a common pattern throughout both corpora, *thank you* is also used in order to show gratitude. This use of *thank you* is more common in the Blair corpus than the Bush corpus and could explain the difference in frequency between the two corpora.

(69) Let me also express my gratitude to President Bush. Through the troubled times since
[TB 18.07.03] September 11th changed the world, we have been allies and friends. Thank you, Mr President, for your leadership.

4.6.3 Third person pronouns

Table 4.3 above showed that third person pronouns constitute nearly half of Blair's pronoun use (45.3 per cent), compared with one third (33.5 per cent) of Bush's overall pronoun use.

Table 4. 7: Third person pronouns

	Total of 3rd person pronouns	**3rd person singular**		**3rd person plural**	
	N	N	%	N	%
Blair	830	578	69.6	252	30.4
Bush	473	221	46.7	252	53.3

Table 4.8 below shows the distribution of the different third person pronouns.

Table 4. 8: Distribution of third person pronouns

	He		**Him**		**She**		**Her**		**It**		**They**		**Them**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blair	107	12.9	17	2.0	4	0.5	2	0.2	448	54.0	167	20.1	85	10.2
Bush	57	12.1	8	1.7	4	0.8	2	0.4	150	31.7	175	37.1	77	16.3

He and *it* are the two personal pronouns where table 4.8 shows clear differences in use between the two speakers. In the Blair corpus a total of 94 instances (87.9 per cent) of *he* refer to Saddam Hussein, compared to 26 instances (45.6 per cent) in the Bush corpus. This is further indication that Blair is more concerned with Saddam Hussein than Bush (cf. section 3.2)

This study will not perform an investigation of the difference in the use of *it* since this appears to be more a question of sentence construction than an indication of interpersonal relationships. A comparison of the use of the plural third person pronouns *they* and *them* show that they occur approximately the same number of times in both corpora. A closer study may reveal interesting differences and similarities. The plural third person pronouns can be used with many different referents and do not necessarily affect the relationship between speaker and audience. These pronouns are for the most part used with situational deixis. However,

there are two major groups of referents that may prove to be interesting. These are references to enemies (terrorists, Al Qaida, Iraq etc.) and to the UN weapons inspectors. References to these groups are presented in table 4.9.

Table 4. 9: Common referents of *they* and *them*

	Enemies				**Inspectors**			
	They		Them		They		Them	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blair	75	44.9	19	22.4	19	11.4	3	3.5
Bush	82	46.9	35	45.5	1	0.6	0	0

These findings are perhaps most interesting seen in connection with the findings in section 3.1 where *inspectors* and *terrorists* were shown to be two of the most frequently used words in the Blair and Bush corpora, respectively.

One of the things this section sought to investigate was if there was expressed any dualism between the use of *we/us* referring to America or the UK, and *they/ them* referring to the enemy. Although there is an obvious division between *we/us* and *they/them*, the first and third person plural pronouns are only used to draw attention to a division between the two opponents on a few occasions.

(70) [TB 14.09.01] And of course it is difficult. **We** are democratic. **They** are not. **We** have respect for human life. **They** do not. **We** hold essentially liberal values. **They** do not. As **we** look into these issues it is important that **we** never lose sight of our basic values. But **we** have to understand the nature of the enemy and act accordingly.

Chapter 5

Modality

The interesting aspect of modal auxiliaries lies within their subtlety. It is difficult to judge whether or not the choice of modal auxiliaries is a conscious decision. Unlike overt comments such as 'I believe' and 'In my opinion', modal auxiliaries provide an implicit way to express attitudes and is therefore more likely to have an effect on the audience. If the choice is deliberate it is an effective and subtle way to affect the audience based on the principle that ideologies work better when they are invisible (cf. section 2.1). If the selection of modal auxiliaries is not a deliberate choice, an investigation of their use is potentially a way to unveil the speaker's true ideologies and/ or the interpersonal relationship between him and the addressee.

Section 5.1 will give a brief summary of the terminology used to discuss modality, an account of how my analysis will fit in with the theories discussed in chapter 2.3, and an analysis of modal auxiliaries in the Blair and Bush corpora. In this section of the study, occurrences of modal auxiliaries in the two corpora will be discussed separately. These sections will investigate the use of the modal auxiliaries[35] *may*, *can*, *shall*, *will*, *must*, *might*, *could*, *should* and *would*. The last four MAs are often seen as the past tense modals of the first four MAs (Quirk et al. 1985:231). It should be noted that the meanings of these modals can be expressed by other means, such as the marginal modals (cf. figure 2.4). I have chosen to limit my study to the central modals (cf. ibid.) although some aspects of the modality in the two corpora will be left out. The analysis will primarily concern itself with declarative sentences seeing as the

[35] MA = modal auxiliary

questions in the two corpora have been discussed as a separate point in chapter 4.3. The analysis begins with a description of the use of modal auxiliaries in the Blair corpus, and is followed by a similar description of the Bush corpus. In order to find the most likely interpretation of statements, a majority of the examples have been paraphrased with the intention of uncovering both the meaning expressed by the modals and the function of the statement. Paraphrases have not been created for examples where an explanation can bring sufficient clarity. The MA is marked in bold text in all examples, while the part of the examples which has been paraphrased is underlined. The analysis of the examples is not analysed based solely on the sentences included in the individual examples: the context expressed in the speech has also been taken into consideration. In cases where context has played a decisive part in the interpretation, there will be reference to the context. After the initial analysis, the two corpora will be compared to see what similarities and differences can be found between the two. The comparison will contain a discussion of the alternative choices and what rhetorical effect their choices have on their speeches, as well as a brief summary of the findings in the two corpora.

5.1 Terminology

In this section on modality, the terminology and meanings used are taken from Quirk et al (1985:221ff). Modality is divided into two categories; intrinsic[36] modality and extrinsic[37] modality. As mentioned in chapter 2.3 permission, obligation and volition are all considered by Quirk et al. to be categories of intrinsic modality, while possibility, necessity and prediction are categorized as extrinsic modality. Intrinsic modality is concerned with the exchange of goods and services, as mentioned earlier in chapter 2.3. It is given the name

[36] Intrinsic modality is described by other grammars such as Hasselgård, Johansson and Lysvåg (1998) as root modality, and by Halliday (2004) as modalization.
[37] Extrinsic modality is described by other grammars such as Hasselgård, Johansson and Lysvåg (1998) as epistemic modality, and by Halliday (2004) as modalization.

intrinsic by traditional grammars like Quirk et al. (1985) because these expressions of modality are believed to 'involve some kind of human control of events (ibid: 219)'. Extrinsic modality on the other hand, is concerned with the exchange of information. This does not involve human control over events, but rather a human judgement which states what is or is not likely to happen (ibid.).

Figure 5.1 shows possible meaning of modals according to Quirk et al. (1985) (cf. table 2.1).

Figure 5. 1: Meaning of the modals

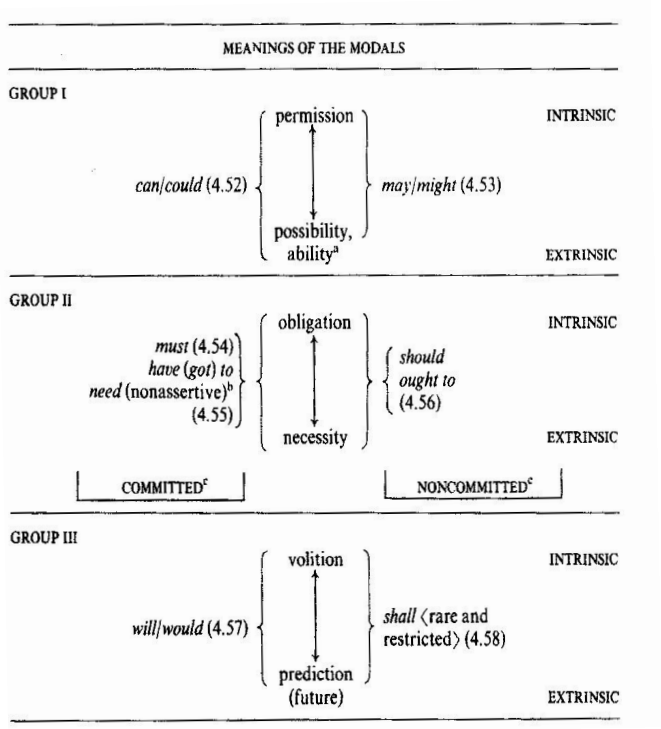

Figure 5.1 shows that the modals have been divided into three groups based on their similarity of meaning and overlapping. Group I consists of the modal auxiliary pairs *can*/*could* and *may*/*might*. Ability is considered by Quirk et al (1985:221) to be a special case of possibility, which means that ability is categorized as extrinsic modality. In group II there is a distinction between modals which express committed modality, and modals which express non-committed modality. The level of commitment refers to the extent to which the speaker takes personal responsibility for the modality expressed in his statement. The scale between

intrinsic and extrinsic modality is a gliding scale and many expressions belong in between the two extreme points. Thus the categorization of modality expressed is not a question of either/or, but rather less and more, i.e. which kind of modality outweighs the other.

The category 'wish' is not mentioned in Quirk et al (1985), but is taken from Hasselgård, Johansson and Lysvåg (1998:197) and is used to describe a special kind of obligation. Figure 5.1 shows the three different groups used by Quirk et al. to differentiate between the modalities of the modal auxiliaries. It should be mentioned that although *shall* and *should* have not been grouped together, they will be listed in this analysis as a pair.

Table 5.1 shows the occurrences of the individual modals which this study is based on. This will form the basis for the analysis.

Table 5. 1: An overview of modal auxiliaries in the Blair and Bush corpora[38]

	may	might	Can	could	must	shall	should	will	Would
Blair	19	8	88	32	52	6	75	236	84
Bush	20	4	84	35	69	1	20	323	55

5.2 The Blair corpus [39]

5.2.1 May and Might

May

May occurs 21 times in the Blair corpus. Two of these occurrences refer to the month of May and were excluded from the material. This means that Blair uses the modal auxiliary *may* a total of 19 times. As mentioned previously in chapter 2.3, *may* has two main meanings; possibility and permission.

[38] Occurrences which do not fulfil the requirements of modal auxiliaries are not counted in table 3.1.
[39] The descriptions of modal meanings have been taken from Quirk et al. (1985:221ff) unless other sources are given.

Table 5. 2: Categorization of *may* in the Blair corpus

	Possibility		Permission		Root possibility		Expression	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blair	16	84.2	1	5.3	1	5.3	1	5.3

Table 5.3 shows that a majority of occurrences of *may* (84 per cent) express possibility.

Possibility (extrinsic)

When *may* is used to express possibility it indicates the possibility of the proposition stated being true. *May* is defined as a low value auxiliary because it expresses low speaker commitment. This means that the speaker expresses less conviction of the possibility of his statement being true, than if he used a high value modal such as *must* to express possibility.

(1) [TB 10.09.02] Because I say to you in all earnestness: if we do not deal with the threat from this international outlaw and his barbaric regime, it **may** not erupt and engulf us this month or next; perhaps not even this year or the next.

Paraphrase It is possible that it does not erupt and engulf us this month or next;

(2) [TB 24.09.02] There will be some who dismiss all this. Intelligence is not always right. For some of this material there **may** be innocent explanations.

Paraphrase For some of this material it is possible that there exists an innocent explanations.

(3) [TB 18.03.03] ... Based on all the available evidence, the strong presumption is that about 10,000 litres of anthrax was not destroyed and **may** still exist."

Paraphrase … and possibly still exist.

(4) [TB 18.07.03] You **may** think after recent disagreements it can't be done. But the debate in Europe is open.

Paraphrase It is possible that you think after recent disagreements it can't be done.

(5) [TB 14.12.03] This **may** be the law, but ***should*** it be?

Paraphrase This is the law, but…

(6) [TB 24.09.02] Our case is simply this: not that we take military action, come what **may**;

Paraphrase Our case is simply this: not that we take military action, no matter what happens;

Examples 1-4 show uses of *may* which express extrinsic possibility. (5) is different from the first four examples because it does not question the possibility in the same way as the other four. In this use of *may*, it loses some of its possibility. Although *may* still expresses some possibility, the clause is still presumed to be true. This use of *may*, is often followed by a *but*-clause which suggests contradiction. This use is classified a root possibility (extrinsic) by Quirk et al. Another special use of *may* is shown in (6). Unlike the other examples (1-4) where *may* is used to express possibility, (6) contains the expression *come what may*. The fact that this is a lexicalised expression can diminish its expression of possibility, but is often used somewhat philosophically to refer to the future.

Permission (intrinsic)

The use of *may* to express permission is more formal than similar use of *can*.

(7) [TB 13.11.01]	I would also, if I **may**, offer personal thanks to the British forces who have been engaged in this action.
Paraphrase	I would also, <u>if I am allowed</u>, offer personal thanks to the British forces who have been engaged in this action.

(7) shows the only example where *may* is used to request permission. Since this sentence occurs in a monologue delivered by a person of authority, it functions more like a polite hedge than a request for permission.

Blair's use of *may* is primarily extrinsic, which means that it does not involve 'human control over events (Quirk et al 1985:219)'. When *may* expresses possibility, it can lead to uncertainty in the listener. (8) does not say anything about how probable this is, simply that it is a possibility.

(8) [TB 07.10.01]	…about what the terrorists **may** seek to do in response.
	…about what the terrorists <u>possibly</u> seek to do in response

Although the use of *may* can create doubt and uncertainty, Blair often uses it to refer to possible reactions as though it is fairly certain these events would take place if the conditions stated are met. (9) is an example of this.

(9) [TB 05.03.04] My view was and is that if the UN had come together and delivered a tough ultimatum to Saddam, listing clearly what he had to do, benchmarking it, he **may** have folded and events set in train that might just and eventually have led to his departure from power.

Paraphrase … , it is possible that he had folded and events set in train that might just and eventually have led to his departure from power.

Permission is intrinsic and suggests that people can control events. When *may* is used to express permission it is polite. It is often a polite formality rather than an actual request of permission.

Might

Might occurs ten times in the Blair corpus. Two of these refer to the noun *might* which means strength or power and will thus not be discussed.

Table 5. 3: Categorization of *might* in the Blair corpus

	Possibility		**Permission**	
	N	%	N	%
Blair	7	87.5	1	12.5

Possibility (extrinsic)

Like *may*, *might* is used to state the possibility of something being true.

The Blair corpus contains 7 instances of *might* used to express possibility.

(10) [TB 20.03.03] Retreat **might** give us a moment of respite but years of repentance at our weakness would I believe follow.

Paraphrase It is possible that retreat gives us a moment of respite but years of repentance at our weakness would I believe follow.

(11) [TB 18.03.03] The tragedy is that had such a Resolution issued, he [Saddam Hussein] **might** just have complied.

Paraphrase The tragedy is that had such a Resolution issued, it is possible that he had complied.

(10) illustrates *might* used to express the speaker's assessment of the likelihood of his statement. Here the speaker admits that there is a slight chance that retreat will 'give … a moment of respite' but the speaker doubts it. (11) differs from (10), by the fact that the speaker expresses his judgment of the likelihood of something which hypothetically could have happened if circumstances had been different. Examples (10) and (11) are representative of the occurrences where *might* expresses possibility. While four examples state the possibility of succeeding events if certain conditions had been met (hypothetical conditions), three express the speaker's judgment of the likelihood of present or future events.

Permission (intrinsic)

There is only one instance of *might* expressing permission. Although both *may* and *might* are used to express possibility, *might* tends to express less certainty than *may* due to its tentative quality.

(12) I want to pay tribute if I **might** right at the outset to Britain's armed forces. [TB 07.10.01]

Paraphrase I want to pay tribute <u>if I am allowed</u> right at the outset to Britain's armed forces.

In (12), the first person I (Blair) requests permission from his audience. As we saw in (7) with *may*, *might* is used as a hedge rather than a straightforward request for permission.

Blair uses *might* to express possibility 7 out of 8 times. The fact that *might* is considered more tentative than *may* can be illustrated with the help of two contrastive paraphrases of (10).

(10a) Retreat **might** give us a moment of respite but years of repentance at our weakness would I believe follow.

(10b) Retreat **may** give us a moment of respite but years of repentance at our weakness would I believe follow.

A comparison of 10a and 10b illustrates that although both statements express a judgment of the likelihood of future events, example 10b indicates a higher degree of likelihood than example 10a. In this instance, Blair had chosen the alternative which matches his role as Prime Minister, since he benefits from a reduced likelihood.

5.2.2 Can and Could

Can

Can occurs a total of 88 times in the Blair corpus. *Can* is primarily used to express either permission or possibility.

Table 5. 4: Categorization of *can* in the Blair corpus

	Possibility		**Ability**		**Permission**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blair	61	69.3	20	22.7	7	8

Possibility (extrinsic)

Can expressing possibility is a category which contains a lot of ambiguity. As stated previously in the study, ability is usually regarded as a special form of possibility, since the ability to do something leads to the possibility to perform the same activity. This connection between ability and possibility is referred to as potentiality by Peter Collins (2007:8). Potentiality is especially a factor in connection with 'certain verbs of perception and cognition (ibid.)'.

(13) [TB 08.11.02] Mr Speaker, even now I hope that conflict with Iraq **can** be avoided.

Paraphrase Mr Speaker, even now I hope that it is possible to avoid a conflict with Iraq.

(14) [TB 14.11.01] I **can** confirm that UK forces are engaged in this action.

Paraphrase I have the ability/possibility to confirm that UK forces are engaged in this action.

(15) [TB 14.11.01] But there will be, in any event, no sound future for the UN, no guarantee against the repetition of these events, unless we recognise the urgent need for a political agenda we **can** unite upon.

Paraphrase … unless we recognise the urgent need for a political agenda that it is possible for us to unite upon.

(16) [TB 14.11.01] But let us unite in agreeing this: what happened in the United States on Tuesday was an act of wickedness for which there **can** never be justification.

Paraphrase But let us unite in agreeing this: what happened in the United States on Tuesday was an act of wickedness it is not possible to justify.

(13) is an example of *can* used to express possibility. Examples (14) and (15) show the ambiguity of expressing both ability and possibility. Although (16) primarily can be interpreted primarily as expressing possibility, it is an example which illustrates the glide between permission and possibility. In (16), the speaker does not permit the possibility of justification. The element of possibility is strongest, because the focus of the sentence is that the events of 11 September 2001 were so wicked that it is impossible to justify them.

Permission (intrinsic)

When used to express permission, *can* is less formal than *may*. There are only 7 instances where *can* is used to express permission. However, there are several interesting instances.

(17) [TB 14.11.01] Let it be clear that there **can** be no more conditions, no more games, no more prevaricating, no more undermining of the UN's authority.

Paraphrase Let it be clear that we do not allow any more conditions, no more games, no more prevaricating, no more undermining of the UN's authority.

(18) [18.07.03] Because we **can**'t say to the poorest people in the world: we want you to be free but just don't try to sell your goods in our market.

Paraphrase Because we do not allow ourselves to say to the poorest people in the world: we want you to be free but just don't try to sell your goods in our market.

(19) [TB 03.02.03] Mr Speaker, **can** I first tell the House that I have sent messages of condolence to President Bush and Prime Minister Sharon following the break-up of the Columbia space shuttle on Saturday.

Paraphrase Mr Speaker, am I allowed to first tell the House that I have sent messages of condolence to President Bush and Prime Minister Sharon following the break-up of the Columbia space shuttle on Saturday.

(17) is in the same way as (16), placed on the scale between possibility and permission. But unlike (16), (17) is placed closer to permission than possibility. At first, (18) seems to be an expression of possibility. Many instances where permission is given contain the second person pronoun *you*, indicating that the speaker gives permission to one or more addressees. In (18), we find the inclusive pronoun *we*. In this case the speaker does not only deny his audience permission, but also himself. In other words (18) expresses a general rule imposed by the speaker on himself as well as his audience. The use of the inclusive first person pronoun *we* rather than the second person pronoun *you*, places the speaker closer to his audience. This in turn results in a sense of unity, which could not have resulted from the use of *you*, where Blair would have placed himself as an authority over his audience. (19) shows *can* used to request permission. Blair's use of *can* is an example of hedging. This is not a genuine request for permission, but is rather motivated by politeness and protocol.

Could

Could occurs 32 times in the Blair corpus. Like *can*, *could* is either used to express possibility or permission. However, the Blair corpus does not contain any statements where *could* expresses permission.

Table 5. 5: Categorization of *could* in the Blair corpus

	Possibility		Ability		Hypothetical	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blair	21	65.6	7	21.9	4	12.5

Possibility (extrinsic)

Could is used in the same way as *can*, but is used more tentatively than its present form.

(20) We waited so that those responsible **could** be yielded up by those shielding them. [TB 03.02.03]
Paraphrase We waited so that it was possible for those responsible to be yielded up by those shielding them.

(21) The US and the UK then, in December 1998, undertook Desert Fox, a targeted bombing

[TB 18.03.03] campaign to degrade as much of the Iraqi WMD facilities as we **could**.

Paraphrase The US and the UK then, in December 1998, undertook Desert Fox, a targeted bombing campaign to degrade as much of the Iraqi WMD facilities as possible.

(22) Who **could** not?
[TB 18.03.03]
Paraphrase Who are not able to?

(23) I did not consider Iraq fitted into this philosophy, though I **could** see the horrible injustice done
[TB 05.03.04] to its people by Saddam.

Paraphrase I did not consider Iraq fitted into this philosophy, though I was able to see the horrible injustice done to its people by Saddam.

(20) shows *could* used to express possibility, without the element of ability. (21), (22) and (23) illustrates the strong connection between ability and possibility. The presence of ability allows the presence of possibility. In (21) possibility is slightly stronger than the element of ability, while the element of ability is stronger than the element of possibility in both (22) and (23).

Hypothetical

When *could* is used hypothetically it expresses the possibility of something being true in a hypothetical context where a set of given conditions are met.

(24) Should terrorists obtain these weapons now being manufactured and traded round the world,
[TB 20.03.03] the carnage they **could** inflict to our economies, our security, to world peace, would be beyond our most vivid imagination.

In the event that terrorists obtain these weapons now being manufactured and traded round the world, they will be able to inflict carnage on our economies, our security, to world peace, beyond our most vivid imagination.

(24) is an example which shows Blair's use of past tense modals to create a hypothetical situation where *could* expresses the ability (and potentiality) of the terrorists to inflict carnage.

5.2.3 Must

Must occurs 52 times in the Blair corpus. *Must* can either be used to express obligation or necessity. The majority of instances in the Blair corpus expresses obligation.

Table 5. 6: Categorization of *must* in the Blair corpus

	Obligation		Necessity	
	N	%	N	%
Blair	49	94.2	3	5.8

Obligation (intrinsic)

Must expressing obligation indicates that the speaker has authority over the addressee.

(25) There are three things we **must** now take forward urgently.
[TB 14.09.01]
Paraphrase There are three things we now <u>are obliged to</u> take forward urgently.

(26) What America **must** do is to show that this is a partnership built on persuasion not command.
[TB 08.07.03]
Paraphrase What America <u>is obliged to</u> do is to show that this is a partnership built on persuasion not command.

(27) Saddam **must** now make his choice.
[TB 08.11.02]
Paraphrase Saddam <u>is now obliged to</u> make his choice.

In examples (25) and (26), the speaker orders *we* and *America* to do something. *Must* is usually a modal auxiliary used by someone of authority to exercise their power. However the use of the third person pronoun *we* rather than the second person pronoun *you* in (25) reveals solidarity and unity rather than an exercise of power and authority. In (26), Blair uses his authority as a world leader to assert his beliefs of what a fellow ally should do. In (27) Blair uses his authority as world leader to express obligation towards Saddam Hussein.

Necessity (extrinsic)

By using *must* to express necessity, the speaker judges the proposition to have a high likelihood of being true. The Blair corpus contains only a few instances where the use of *must* signals necessity.

(28) I recall a few weeks ago talking to an Iraqi exile and saying to her that I understood how grim
[TB 18.03.03] it **must** be under the lash of Saddam.

Paraphrase I recall a few weeks ago talking to an Iraqi exile and saying to her that I understood how it had to be grim under the lash of Saddam.

(29) [TB 08.07.03] You, the people, **must** agree [with?] your own government, and your own future, but we the coalition **must** give you the help and support that you need as you seek to rebuild your troubled country, and that support will be forthcoming.

Paraphrase It is necessary that you, the people, agree your own government, …
… but it is necessary that we the coalition give you the help and support that you need as you seek to rebuild your troubled country…

In (18) the speaker states that it was highly likely that it was grim under Saddam Hussein's reign. (19) shows the only occurrence in the Blair corpus where the obligation is directed at *you*. Since *you* is exclusive of the speaker, this is the only instance where the speaker (Blair) uses his authority to order the addressee to do something.

5.2.4 Shall and Should

Shall

Shall is a rare MA. It is used a total of six times in the Blair corpus. *Shall* can be used to express either prediction, volition or obligation. Whether or not an instance is categorized as prediction or volition depends on the degree of personal choice and control.

Table 5. 7: Categorization of *shall* in the Blair corpus

	Volition	
	N	%
Blair	6	100

Volition (intrinsic)

The use of *shall* to express intent is more formal than similar use with *will*.

(30) [TB 24.09.02] We **shall** act in the same way now.
Paraphrase We intend to act in the same way now.

(31) [TB 25.09.01] I am in no doubt of the need to strengthen our laws in the fight against terrorism and again, within the next couple of weeks, we **shall** be announcing the measures that we intend to take.
Paraphrase … we intend to be announcing the measures that we intend to take.

Shall is used to express volition, or more specifically intention. Although both examples (30) and (31) are used to express the intention of the first person plural reference of *we*, there is a difference in the use of the two. The difference lies in the use of the progressive aspect in (31). *Shall* is seldom used with the perfective or progressive aspect when it is used to express volition (Quirk et al 1985:235). (31) is categorized as volition because the statement expresses the element of human control which indicates that this is a planned event that will take place in the future.

Should

There are 75 occurrences of *should* in the Blair corpus.

Table 5. 8: Categorization of *should* in the Blair corpus

	Obligation		Putative		Hypothetical		Tentative Inference	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blair	51	68	17	22.7	6	8	1	1.3

Obligation (intrinsic)

When *should* is used with the intent of expressing obligation, it implies the speaker's authority. Compared to the use of *must* to express obligation, *should* implies less authority over the speaker.The majority of instances of *should* expresses obligation.

(32) [TB 14.09.01] This solidarity **should** be maintained and translated into support for action.

Paraphrase This solidarity is obliged to be maintained and translated into support for action

(33) [TB 25.09.01] If the regime in Afghanistan refuses to do what they know they **should**, then our enemy's friend also becomes our enemy too.

Paraphrase If the regime in Afghanistan refuses to do what they know they are obliged to do, then our enemy's friend also becomes our enemy too.

(34) [TB 25.09.01] President Bush and I agreed we **should** seek maximum support for such a Resolution, provided, as ever, that seeking such a Resolution is a way of resolving the issue not delaying or avoiding dealing with it at all. I continue to believe the UN is the right way to proceed.

Paraphrase President Bush and I agreed that it was advisable for us to seek maximum support for such a Resolution, …

(35) [TB 25.09.01]	On this basis, had we meant what we said in Resolution 1441, the Security Council **should** have convened and condemned Iraq as in material breach.
Paraphrase	On this basis, had we meant what we said in Resolution 1441, the Security Council were obliged to convene and condemn Iraq as in material breach.

(32) and (33) both express straightforward obligation. The obligation expressed in (32) is not directed at the addressee in particular, but is rather to be understood as a strong universal encouragement that is shaped as an order. The speaker expresses obligation without necessarily having the authority needed to give an order. (33) on the other hand, shows obligation which is not opposed by the speaker. Instead, the speaker expresses that the third person knows that this is an obligation. The speaker can seem omniscient because he knows that they know that they are obliged, or else the obligation is self-evident. (34) illustrates *should* used with reference to the past. (35) shows obligation with the perfective aspect. This lets the speaker tell the addressee what should have been done, but also implicates that it wasn't done.

Putative (intrinsic)

The putative use of *should* indicates that something can possibly exist, or is coming into existence (ibid:1014). In (36) *should* expresses that the rest of the statement will be 'coming into existence' shortly.

(36) [TB 18.03.03]	So we constructed this framework: that Saddam **should** be given a specified time to fulfil all six tests to show full co-operation; that if he did so the inspectors could then set out a forward work programme and that if he failed to do so, action would follow.
Paraphrase	… that Saddam in a perfect world are given a specified time to fulfill all six tests to show full co-operation;

(36) is an example of the putative *should* used in a that-clause. This use can occur when the matrix[40] clause expresses a plan for the future (ibid.).

[40] A matrix clause is the most important part of the main clause, i.e. the main clause without the subordinate clause. (Hasselgård, Johansson and Lysvåg 1998:464)

Hypothetical

When *should* is used to indicate a hypothetical situation, it marks the mood of the clause, and is not an alternative to *shall*.

(37) [TB 25.09.01] And let it be clear that **should** the will of the UN be ignored, action will follow.

Paraphrase And let it be clear that <u>if</u> the will of the UN <u>is</u> ignored, action will follow.

(37) is formed as a threat where Blair states that if certain conditions are not met, there will be consequences. The MA is concerned with the possibility that the conditions are not met, and expresses the expectations that the will of the UN will be ignored, and is thus a disguised information about what will happen in the future.

Tentative inference (extrinsic)

When *should* expresses tentative inference, the speaker does not know whether or not the statement is true, but tentatively infer it based on his knowledge.

(38) [TB 14.11.01] The UN and the International Committee of the Red Cross **should** now be able to improve delivery of food, health care and other assistance to 2 million vulnerable people in the northern region of Afghanistan.

Paraphrase The UN and the International Committee of the Red Cross <u>are, as far as I know,</u> now be able to improve delivery of food, health care and other assistance to 2 million vulnerable people in the northern region of Afghanistan.

In (38) the speaker does not know whether his statement is true or false, but can tentatively claim that this statement is true based on his knowledge.

5.2.5 Will and Would

<u>Will</u>

256 occurrences of *will* can be found in the Blair corpus. It is the most frequent MA in the entire corpus. 20 of these are nouns and cannot be taken into consideration in this discussion.

Table 5. 9: Categorization of *will* in the Blair corpus

	Prediction		Volition		Ambiguous	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blair	179	75.8	56	23.7	1	0.4

Volition (intrinsic)

When *will* expresses volition it can rage from 'weak volition'/willingness to 'strong volition'/ insistence. In between willingness and insistence, there is a subsense called 'intention' which expresses 'median volition'. Intention is often combined with a sense of prediction.

The majority of occurrences of *will* expressing volition in the Blair corpus convey intention.

(39) [TB 07.07.05] We **will** show, by our spirit and dignity, …

Paraphrase We intend to show, by our spirit and dignity, …

(40) [TB 18.03.03] Just consider the position we are asked to adopt. Those on the Security Council opposed to us say they want Saddam to disarm but **will** not countenance any new Resolution that authorises force in the event of non-compliance.

Paraphrase Just consider the position we are asked to adopt. Those on the Security Council opposed to us say they want Saddam to disarm but do not intend to countenance any new Resolution that authorises force in the event of non-compliance.

(41) [TB 18.03.03] I **will** not be party to such a course.

Paraphrase I do not intend to be party to such a course

Examples (39)-(41) are examples of expressions of intent.

Prediction (extrinsic)

When *will* expresses prediction, we can distinguish between three related uses; the future predictive, present predictive and the habitual predictive. The future predictive is the most common use of *will* expressing prediction, and it includes uses from a close to neutral marker of future to the speaker's predictions for the future. The present predictive expresses the

likelihood of a future event, while the habitual predictive future occurs in conditional sentences, or in statements of 'predictability'.

(42) [TB 18.03.03] But there **will** be, in any event, no sound future for the UN, no guarantee against the repetition of these events, unless we recognise the urgent need for a political agenda we can unite upon.

(43) [TB 05.03.04] I have no doubt Iraq is better without Saddam; but no doubt either, that as a result of his removal, the dangers of the threat we face **will** be diminished.

(44) [TB 11.07.05] The whole House, I know, **will** want to state our feelings strongly.

Examples (42)-(44) all express the speaker's prediction of future events.

The challenge in this analysis is to distinguish between prediction and intention. The distinction is made based on whether or not the truthfulness of the statement can be decided through human control. If it can be controlled, then the example expresses intention (intrinsic modality), if not, is an example of prediction (extrinsic modality).

(45) [TB 05.03.04] In the end, believe your political leaders or not, as you **will**.
Paraphrase In the end, believe your political leaders or not, as you <u>decide (for yourselves).</u>

(45) can at first appearance be viewed as an expression of future, but should be interpreted as an element of intention (human will).

Would

In the Blair corpus there are 84 instances of *would*.

Table 5. 10: Categorization of *would* in the Blair corpus

	Prediction		Volition		Hypothetical		Tentative volition	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Blair	32	38.1	9	10.7	28	33.3	15	17.9

Prediction (extrinsic)

Would is used to express prediction in much the same way as *will*, but does not have the present predictive sense. It can express past habitual behaviour, or expressions of past prediction.

(46) So the ending of regime **would** be the cause of regret for no-one other than Saddam.
[TB 25.09.01]
Paraphrase No one other than Saddam are going to regret the ending of regime.

(46) expresses the speaker's subjective belief.

Hypothetical

The hypothetical use of w*ould*, is an expression of the mood in the clause.

(47) And let us recall: what was shocking about 11 September was not just the slaughter of the
[TB 18.12.05] innocent; but the knowledge that had the terrorists been able to, there **would** have been not 3,000 innocent dead, but 30,000 or 300,000 and the more the suffering, the greater the terrorists' rejoicing.
Paraphrase …;but the knowledge that if the terrorists had been able to, they had not stopped at 3,000 innocent dead, but 30,000 or 300,000 and the more the suffering, the greater the terrorists' rejoicing.

In (47) the speaker expresses his opinion that in a hypothetical situation where certain conditions had been met *had the terrorists been able to*, there would be a set of hypothetical results *there would have been*….

Tentative volition (intrinsic)

Would used to express tentative volition is closely related to the hypothetical use, but in these cases *would* adds tentativeness.

(48) I'm sure the whole House **would** want to join me in expressing our sadness and sympathy.
[TB 03.02.03]

In (48) *would* adds tentativeness to the speaker's assumption. He speaks on behalf of others and explicitly states that this is his interpretation of events.

Volition (intrinsic)

Would can be used to express volition in the same way as *will.* The use of *would* expresses past volition.

(49) The first step was to give an open, honest declaration of what WMD he had, where it was and
[TB 25.02.03] how it **would** be destroyed.

Paraphrase The first step was to give an open, honest declaration of what WMD he had, where it was and how it was intended to be destroyed.

(50) [TB 14.09.01] The limits are only practical or technical. We know, that they **would**, if they could, go further and use chemical or biological or even nuclear weapons of mass destruction.

Paraphrase The limits are only practical or technical. We know, that they have a desire to, if they could, go further and use chemical or biological or even nuclear weapons of mass destruction.

(49) is an example which lies on the gliding scale between prediction and intent. However, it is situated closer to intent because it expresses a plan that will be carried out based on human intent. (50) expresses willingness, because it focuses on the terrorists desire to cause as much harm as possible.

5.3 The Bush corpus

The differences in meaning between the subcategories are discussed in connection with the Blair corpus and will not be repeated for the Bush corpus.

5.3.1 May and Might

May

The Bush corpus contained 21 occurrences of *may*. One occurrence refers to the month of May and has been excluded from the material. The table shows that there are no occurrences where *may* is used to give permission in the Bush corpus.

Table 5. 11: Categorization of *may* in the Bush corpus

	Possibility		Wish		Permission	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bush	9	45	11	50	0	0

Possibility (extrinsic)

Nearly half the instances of *may* express possibility.

(51) [GWB 08.11.01] Public health officials have acted quickly to distribute preventive antibiotics to thousands of people who **may** have been exposed.

Paraphrase Public health officials have acted quickly to distribute preventive antibiotics to thousands of people who possibly have been exposed.

(52) I hope this will not require military action, but it **may**.

[GWB 07.10.02]

Paraphrase I hope this will not require military action, but it is possible that it will.

Both (51) and (52) are typical examples of the low value auxiliary *may* used to express possibility (Halliday and Mathiessen 2004:622).

Wish (intrinsic)

A majority of *may* is used to express a wish from Bush to God that God will bless someone or something, usually the American people.

(53) **May** God bless our country and all who defend her.
[GWB 19.03.03]

Paraphrase I wish that God bless our country and all who defend her.

Might

There are 4 occurrences of *might*. All occurrences are used to express possibility.

Table 5. 12: Categorization of *might* in the Bush corpus

	Possibility		Permission	
	N	%	N	%
Bush	4	100	0	0

Possibility

(54) That is an important question, and the answer depends on your view of
[GWB 18.12.05] the war on terror. If you think the terrorists would become peaceful if only America would stop provoking them, then it **might** make sense to leave them alone.

Paraphrase That is an important question, and the answer depends on your view of the war on terror. If you think the terrorists would become peaceful if only America would stop provoking them, then it possibly makes sense to leave them alone.

There are only half as many instances of *might* expresses possibility of *may* expressing possibility. This is most likely due to the fact that *might* is more tentative than *may* and carries a larger degree of uncertainty.

5.3.2 Can and Could

Can

The modal auxiliary *can* occurs 84 times in the Bush corpus.

Table 5. 13: Categorization of *can* in the Bush corpus

	Possibility		Ability		Permission	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bush	46	54.8	31	36.9	7	8.3

Possibility (extrinsic)

The majority of instances fall into the category of possibility. A considerable number of the instances of *can* which express possibility have a strong element of ability.

(55) [GWB 14.12.03] All Iraqis **can** now come together and reject violence and build a new Iraq.
Paraphrase It is now possible for to now come together and reject violence and build a new Iraq.

(56) [GWB 11.09.01] Terrorist attacks **can** shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundation of America.
Paraphrase It is possible for terrorist attacks to shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but it is not possible for them to touch the foundation of America.

(57) [GWB 10.05.04] We're helping to build Iraqi forces that **can** take responsibility for security.
Paraphrase 57a We're helping to build Iraqi forces that are able to take responsibility for security.

Paraphrase 57b We're helping to build Iraqi forces that have the possibility to take responsibility for security.

In (55) *can* expresses the new possibility given to the Iraqis. This is one of the few examples where the element of ability is almost non-existent. It is now possible for all Iraqis to come together. Whether or not they have the ability to gather is another question which is not discussed in this statement. Many instances of *can* refer to both possibility and ability. (56) is such an instance. It focuses on the ability of the terrorist attacks, and the ability of the terrorist

attacks allows for possibilities as a result of terrorist attacks. Although the first paraphrase of (57) may be the most logical and appropriate interpretation, we cannot deny the logic that lies behind the second interpretation. When people have the ability to do something, they also have the possibility to do something.

Permission (intrinsic)

(58) [GWB 10.05.04]	So I've asked Congress to provide an additional $25 billion for a contingency reserve fund that **can** be used for ongoing operations in Iraq.
Paraphrase	So I've asked Congress to provide an additional $25 billion for a contingency reserve fund that <u>are allowed to</u> be used for ongoing operations in Iraq.
(59) [GWB 07.12.05]	There is an important debate going on in our nation's capital about Iraq, and the fact that we **can** debate these issues openly in the midst of a dangerous war brings credit to our democracy.
Paraphrase	There is an important debate going on in our nation's capital about Iraq, and the fact that we <u>are allowed to</u> debate these issues openly in the midst of a dangerous war brings credit to our democracy.
(60) [GWB 19.03.03]	And you **can** know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.
Paraphrase	And you <u>should</u> know that our forces will be coming home as soon as their work is done.
(61) [GWB 07.09.03]	We are sending a clear message: anyone who seeks to harm our soldiers **can** know that our soldiers are hunting for them.
Paraphrase	We are sending a clear message: anyone who seeks to harm our soldiers <u>should</u> know that our soldiers are hunting for them

Even though I find that the element of permission is strongest in (58) and (59), it is impossible to ignore the fact that there is also an element of possibility. In order to understand why the element of permission is stronger than the element of possibility, we can paraphrase (58) with emphasis on possibility.

(58b)	So I've asked Congress to provide an additional $25 billion for a contingency reserve fund that it is possible to use for ongoing operations in Iraq.

A comparison of the paraphrase in (58) and (58b) show that although the difference is subtle, there is a difference in meaning between the sentences. Bush is talking about a contingency reserve fund which means that it is not decided that the 25 billions will necessarily be spent. However, (58b) implies that if they are not used in Iraq they can be used somewhere else, while the paraphrase in (58) implies that if the money are not spent in Iraq they will not be spent at all. Here we have an example of potentiality. Although potentiality is close to actualisation, potentiality is not always actualised. In (59) it is the fact that a public discussion is allowed that gives it the element of possibility. The certainty implied in (60) and (61) takes them beyond the scope of permission and brings them closer to obligation. There are a total of three instances where the speaker expresses high-value obligation. (60) and (61) can best be described as promises. In (60) Bush gives a promise to the families of the military serving in Iraq that is meant to comfort and strengthen the unity. (61) is different. Firstly it is (supposedly) directed at the enemy rather than the addressee, and thus the promise functions as a threat; 'If you do this, I promise that it will have the following consequences'.

Could

Could occurs 35 times in the Bush corpus. All examples express either ability or possibility.

Table 5. 14: Categorization of *could* in the Bush corpus

	Possibility		Ability	
	N	%	N	%
Bush	27	77.1	8	22.9

Possibility (extrinsic)

(62) [GWB 08.11.01] Our nation faces a threat to our freedoms, and the stakes **could** not be higher.

Paraphrase …and it is not possible for the stakes to be higher.

(63) [GWB 08.11.01] We **could** wait and hope that Saddam does not give weapons to terrorists, or develop a nuclear weapon to blackmail the world.

Paraphrase It is possible for us to wait and hope that Saddam does not give weapons to terrorists, or develop a nuclear weapon to blackmail the world.

In (62) above, the element of possibility outweighs the element of ability. While in the example (63), the element of ability seems stronger. At the same time we cannot disregard that fact that the ability allows for the possibility of the same situation. There are no examples in the Bush corpus where *could* is used to indicate permission.

5.3.3 Must

Must

Bush uses *must* only to express obligation.

Table 5. 15: Categorization of *must* in the Bush corpus

	Obligation		Necessity	
	N	%	N	%
Bush	69	100	0	0

Obligation (intrinsic)

(64) [GWB 01.03.03] All Iraqis **must** have a voice in the new government, and all citizens **must** have their rights protected.

Paraphrase It is important that all Iraqis have a voice in the new government, and protection of the rights of all citizens is obligatory.

(65) We did not seek it, but we **must** fight it -- and we will prevail.

Paraphrase We did not seek it, but we are obliged to fight it -- and we will prevail.

In (64) Bush states what he believes to be an obligation. He has no real authority over the situation of all Iraqis, and therefore (64) does not become an order. Instead, (64) becomes a description of how things ought to be. (65) expresses obligation put on *we* which includes both the speaker himself and the addressee. There are many examples such as (65) in the Bush corpus. Unlike the use of the second person pronoun *you* in combination with *must*, the use of the inclusive *we* with the modal *must* does not emphasize the speaker's authority over the addressee. Instead, the use of inclusive *we* brings the speaker and audience closer together, they are approaching equals who need to obey the same obligations. There are no occurrences

in the Bush corpus where the speaker imposes obligation on himself by using the first person singular pronoun *I*.

5.3.4 Shall and Should

Shall

Shall occur only once in the Bush corpus, and even then it is in a quote from a Christmas carol.

(66) [GWB 18.12.05] "God is not dead, nor [does] He sleep; the Wrong **shall** fail, the Right prevail, with peace on Earth, goodwill to men."

Since (66) is an old Christmas carol from the Civil War[41] it is not representative of present-day American English and is thus more formal. It is not a representative example of the style of the Bush corpus, but rather a stylistic device. This confirms that *shall* is much more common in British English than in American English (Quirk et al: 229).

Should

Should occurs 20 times in the Bush corpus.

Table 5. 16: Categorization of *should* in the Bush corpus

	Obligation		Putative		Tentative inference	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bush	15	75	4	20	1	5

Obligation

(67) [GWB 07.10.02] Some have argued we **should** wait – and that's an option.
Paraphrase Some have argued that it would be better if we waited – and that's an option.

(68) [GWB 08.11.01] How **should** we live in the light of what has happened?
Paraphrase How are we supposed to live in the light of what has happened?

[41] The Civil War (1861-1865)

The majority of instances of *should* is categorized as obligation, as exemplified by (67). It states an opinion and functions as a piece of advice. (68) is a request for an obligation or advice on how to live. Both (67) and (68) are directed at an inclusive, and neither example portrays the speaker as an authority since neither is an expression of the speaker's beliefs.

Putative

(69) [GWB 07.09.03] Europe, Japan and states in the Middle East all will benefit from the success of freedom in these two countries [Afghanistan and Iraq] , and they **should** contribute to that success.

(70) [GWB 23.09.03] No government **should** ignore the threat of terror, because to look the other way gives terrorists the chance to regroup and recruit and prepare.

(69) expresses the speaker's opinion. (69) is stronger than an advice, but not as strong as an order. It functions as an encouragement. (70) also expresses the speaker's opinion of how things are supposed to be in a perfect world.

Tentative inference

(71) [GWB 18.12.05] As these achievements come, it **should** require fewer American troops to accomplish our mission.
As these achievements come, it <u>will, as far as I know,</u> require fewer American troops to accomplish our mission.

(71) is the only example of tentative inference. It is shown in figure 3.1 as non-committed modality because the speaker do not know if his statement is true, but concludes that it is true based on the knowledge he has at the time (Quirk et al 1985:227).

5.3.5 Will and Would

<u>Will</u>

There are 333 occurrences of *will*, but 10 are used to refer to the noun *will*. Thus the modal auxiliary *will* occur 323 times in the Bush corpus.

Table 5. 17: Categorization of *will* in the Bush corpus

	Prediction				Volition			
	Future		Habitual		Intent		Willingness	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bush	180	55.7	4	1.2	139	43.0	0	0

Prediction (extrinsic)

(72) We **will** do all in our power to bring both parties back into negotiations.

Paraphrase We intend to do all in our power to bring both parties back into negotiations.

(73) This **will** take time and require sacrifice. Yet we **will** do what is necessary, we **will** spend what is necessary, to achieve this essential victory in the war on terror, to promote freedom and to make our own nation more secure.

Paraphrase This process is time-consuming and requires sacrifice. Yet we intend to do what is necessary, we intend to spend what is necessary, to achieve this essential victory in the war on terror, to promote freedom and to make our own nation more secure.

(74) Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight, and **will** be open for business tomorrow.

Paraphrase Federal agencies in Washington which had to be evacuated today are reopening for essential personnel tonight. Tomorrow, they are opening for business.

(75) And I pray they **will** be comforted by a power greater than any of us, spoken through the ages in Psalm 23:…

Paraphrase And I pray that a power greater than any of us, which has spoken through the ages in Psalm 23, comforts them.

(76) In time, this war **will** end.

Paraphrase In time, this war, like all other before it, will end.

The line between prediction and volition can be hard to draw at times (cf. 3.3.2.5). Examples (72)-(76) illustrate the differences between the two. (72) expresses volition (intrinsic volition) because the speaker expresses his own as well as the audience's intent to do something. In (73) there are three instances of *will*. The first instance expresses prediction since there is no human control. The other two instances express volition because they deal with conscious human action. They express the intent to do something. (74) is an example of prediction. It reveals what is going to happen in the future without linking it to human activity. (75) is another example of prediction. (76) can be interpreted as an example of habitual prediction if

we interpret the fact that the war will end as a timeless statement. I.e. all wars have come to an end, and this war is no exception.

Would

Table 5. 18: Categorization of *would* in the Bush corpus

	Prediction				Volition				Hypothetical	
	Future Prediction		Habitual prediction		Willingness		Intent			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Bush	28	51.0	2	3.6	1	1.8	3	5.5	21	38.2

Prediction (extrinsic)

(77) [GWB 07.10.02] Our enemies **would** be no less willing, in fact, they would be eager, to use biological or chemical, or a nuclear weapon.

In (77) *would* expresses what the speaker predicts will happen in the future. He is not able to control the events he is discussing, and is only able to express his forecast of future events.

Volition (intrinsic)

(78) [GWB 08.11.01] A new terrorism task force is tightening immigration controls to make sure no one enters or stays in our country who **would** harm us.

Paraphrase A new terrorism task force is tightening immigration controls to make sure no one enters or stays in our country who intend to harm us.

In (78) *would* is used to expresses intent. In this example *would* could also be taken to express willingness, which is another subsense of volition. However, taking the context into consideration, the expression of intent carries a higher degree of modality than willingess, and is more probable.

Hypothetical

(79) [GWB 18.12.05] And if we allow that [Iraq's production of a nuclear weapon] to happen, a terrible line **would** be crossed.

Paraphrase In the hypothetical event that Iraq produces a nuclear weapon, a terrible line is crossed.

(79) shows *would* used to express what will follow if a set of conditions are met. It expresses the speaker's beliefs that if the hypothetical conditions (Iraq's production of nuclear weapons) are met, there will be no turning back.

5.4 The use of modal auxiliaries in the Blair and Bush corpora

The objective of chapter 5 was to look at how modality can reveal the speaker's attitude towards and judgement of his own statements. The study sought to find whether or not an investigation of modal auxiliaries could reveal patterns of the way the individual speakers choose to express themselves.

5.4.1 A comparison of modal auxiliary use in the Blair and Bush corpora

Sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.1 dealt with the use of the modal auxiliary pair *may* and *might*. Table 5.1 which showed occurrences of modal auxiliaries in the Blair and Bush corpora did not reveal the extent of differences in the use of *may* between the two speakers. *May* is used approximately the same number of times by both speakers (19 times by Blair and 20 times by Bush). However, a closer study has shown that the differences are much more extensive. In fact, *may* is only used to express permission once. This occurrence is found in the Blair corpus, and is tentative and a matter of politeness. The modest use of *may* to express permission coincide with the genre of political speeches. Both speakers are authoritative figures and seldom need to request permission. If they had used their political speeches to request permission from their audiences they would risk loosing credibility as strong, authoritative leaders. The speakers could have used the MA *may* to report on permissions given, but choose to use other MAs, or exclude MAs all together when addressing future action.

A closer study of the MA *may* revealed that Bush was the only speaker who utilized *may* in initial position in order to request blessings from a higher authority (God). The category wish, which was considered a subcategory of obligation, contained 11 occurrences. The effect of references to God was discussed in section 4.2.

Blair and Bush seem to distinguish between *may* and *might* in a similar way. Both appear to be conscious of the subtle difference between the two MAs. When discussing possibility, *might* is often regarded as expressing less certainty than *may* because it can be more tentative. The speakers take advantage of this fact and use *might* when a lesser degree of certainty will benefit them. This is often the case when the speakers express the opinions of others which they disagree with (cf.example 10, section 5.2.1.).

The sections on *can* and *could* in the Blair and Bush corpora did not reveal any particularly interesting differences in the use of *can* and *could*. However, the Blair corpus has more occurrences of the hypothetical use of *could*. The hypothetical aspect of the past tense MAs is discussed briefly in section 5.4.2.

Sections 5.2.3 and 5.3.3 on the modal auxiliary *must* dealt with the use of *must* in the two corpora. These sections showed that Bush uses *must* to express obligation more often than Blair. They also showed that the only examples of *must* expressing logical necessity are found in the Blair corpus.

Sections 5.2.4 and 5.3.4 on the modal auxiliaries *shall* and *should* showed that there are differences in the use of *shall* and *should* between the two corpora. The difference in use of *shall* is most likely due to the difference between British and American English (Quirk et al.

1985: 229). *Shall* is traditionally more frequently used in connection with the first person pronouns in British English than in American English. In American English *shall* is primarily used to create a stylistic effect such as heighten the sense of formality. The only occurrence of *shall* in the Bush corpus is an example of this stylistic use.

Blair uses *should* more than three times as often as Bush, 75 and 20 occurrences respectively. The putative use of *should* is more used in the Blair corpus than in the Bush corpus. This corresponds with Quirk et al's claim that the putative use of MAs are more prominent in British English than American English (1985:1014). *Should* is also used by Blair in order to set conditions in hypothetical constructions. This use of the past tense modal *should* is briefly discussed in section 5.4.2.

Tables 5.6 and 5.15 show that Blair uses *should* to express obligation more often than Bush. It is worth remembering that the use of *must* expressing obligation was most frequent in the Bush corpus, while the use of *should* to express obligation is more frequent in the Blair corpus. This could reveal a difference in style between the two speakers. *Must* appears to be more authoritative than *should* since *must* has a median to high modal value, while *should* expressing obligation moves from low to median modal value. While Blair discusses how things should be, i.e. what is advisable according to him, Bush deals with what he believes is the only option for future action. Thus Bush uses his authority more boldly than Blair. Factors which may play a part in the difference in use between these two modals will be discussed briefly in section 5.4.3. It is interesting to note that table 3.1 shows that *should* is among the 35 most frequent words in the Blair corpus, while *must* is among the 35 most frequent words in the Bush corpus, with 75 and 69 occurrences respectively.

The sections on *will* and *would* showed that Bush uses *will* more often than Blair. There is virtually no difference between the two on the use of *will* to express prediction. Bush does however, use *will* to express intent more frequently than Blair. Blair uses *would* more often than Bush. This is especially the case when *would* is used with hypothetical meaning or to express tentative volition.

5.4.2 The hypothetical meaning of past modals

The hypothetical meaning of past modals *might*, *could*, *would* and *should* are used by Blair more often than by Bush. Blair uses hypothetical chains of events as a way of preparing his audience for the measures that could be necessary in the future. Blair also uses hypothetical chains of events as a way of defending the decisions he has made and this increases his use of past modals with hypothetical meaning (cf. example 24).

5.4.3 Other factors that affect the use of modal auxiliaries

Other factors that can cause differences in the use of modal auxiliaries between the two corpora can be the interpersonal relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Firstly, although both Blair and Bush are international leaders, Bush is the only one who is formally head of state. Blair is responsible to Parliament and has to justify his actions on a regular basis. If he is not able to lead the country in a satisfactory manner, the Parliament has the authority to overthrow him. Bush on the other hand, cannot be overthrown by the Congress, and does not have to justify his actions to the same extent as Blair. Secondly, despite similar cultural background, we must not forget that George W. Bush and Tony Blair had different positions at the time when the speeches were held. While more than 50 per cent[42] of the American people supported the American President in the coalition's attack on Iraq, only 38

[42] The percentage is taken from http://www.pollingreport.com/iraq.htm

per cent[43] of the British people supported the British Prime Minister. This can be a reason why Blair's use of modal auxiliaries is slightly more tentative. A third factor that can influence the use of modals is, as mentioned throughout this chapter, the differences between British English and American English. Differences between the variations of English is primarily a factor with the MAs *shall* and the putative *should*, but also in connection with levels of tentativeness concerning other modal auxiliaries.

[43] The percentage is taken from http://www.icmresearch.co.uk/reviews/2003/guardian-march-2003.htm

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to investigate what makes a politician persuasive by examining what similarities and differences that can be found in the linguistic choices and rhetorical devices used by Tony Blair and George W. Bush. This was an attempt at moving closer to establishing whether a politician becomes successful through a manipulative use of language, or through an expression of personal beliefs and conviction. The study has been contrastive and has compared two corpora of speeches, each consisting of approximately 32,000 words. Persuasion is a goal which can only be reached through an interpersonal interaction, therefore this study has focused on the interpersonal relationship between speaker and audience. Within the limits of a master's thesis it was not possible to conduct a full investigation of all rhetorical devices used, or of their effect on an audience. As a result, it was necessary to select some rhetorical devices which were investigated with the intent to uncover beliefs, values and some of the effects the different uses of language could have on an audience.

The expression of ideology was discussed in chapter 3. Metaphor, metonymy, analogy and word choice were chosen as good indicators of (more or less) hidden beliefs and values. The metaphor analysis showed that both Blair and Bush view the terrorist events on 11 September 2001 and the ensuing war on terror as part of the epic battle between good and evil. Both leaders represent the coalition forces and place themselves on the side of good, and terrorism and those connected to it are seen as representatives of evil. This battle is showed both in the physical battle in Afghanistan and Iraq, and in the abstract battle between values. The focus on the moral and ethical choices and decisions can be viewed as expression of the universal

understanding of good and evil, but also alternatively as an expression of the Christian values shared by the two leaders. A brief investigation of word choices revealed that their beliefs and values are not identical, and that they wish to fight terrorism using different means. Blair's word choice showed that he was more intent on acting according to the will of a concerted UN. Bush on the other hand was more concerned with the moral aspect of fighting for rights and values such as freedom and justice. This could illustrate that he is more concerned with acting for, what in his (the American) opinion are the right reasons, than creating an international consensus. The investigation also clearly showed that Blair adapted his speech to suit his audience. This became evident through his use of conceptual metaphors and word choice which changed when he was addressing an American audience (18 July 2003).

Chapter 4 gives a brief account of the rhetorical devices: testimony, reference to God, use of questions, three-part list, contrastive pairs and use of personal pronouns and a description of how these are used in the two corpora. Testimonies have the potential to bring a level of credibility to a speech if the speaker is able to account for the credibility of its witnesses, and if the audience accepts the expert knowledge. A closer examination of the sources behind the testimonies shows differences in the types of testimonies. While Blair prefers to confer with established experts, Bush favours people that represent members of his audience. While Blair values and uses expertise to give clout to his arguments, Bush takes advantage of the commonality between his witnesses and the audience. Blair's use of expert witnesses adds reason (logos) to his speeches, while Bush's use of the testimonies of ordinary people appeal to emotions (pathos) as well as reason.

Chapter 4 also showed that there were differences in the use of references to God. Throughout the Bush corpora there is a strong presence of God, and implicit statements that God is on the

side of America in the battle between good and evil. The use of questions is another rhetorical device. The analysis showed that questions were used quite frequently by Blair. The Blair corpus contained 58 questions, opposed to 11 questions in the Bush corpus. Asking questions proved to be an effective way to make the audience take part in the speech without actually having to participate in a dialogue. The use of questions creates the illusion of communication, even though the thoughts and beliefs of the individual audience members have little or no impact on the speaker's message.

Three-part lists and contrastive pairs are traditional and well-known rhetorical devices used by politicians to convince an audience that their arguments are valid. Not surprisingly, the use of three-part lists and contrastive pairs has become common to the extent that they have become more a technique than a true expression of values and beliefs.

The use of personal pronouns was able to shed light on the interpersonal relationship between speakers and addressees. This is especially the case with the use of *we* which can be used both inclusively and exclusively of the speaker. We saw that both speakers used the inclusive reference of *we*, appealing to the audiences sense of unity.

Chapter 5 dealt with modality. For the purpose of this study, modal auxiliaries have been defined as a rhetorical device based on their ability to portray the speaker's attitude towards his own statements as well as speaker commitment. A comparison of the use of modal auxiliaries revealed many similarities as well as subtle differences. Differences between American and British English was primarily a factor with the modal auxiliaries *shall* and the putative *should*, but also in connection with levels of tentativeness concerning other modal auxiliaries. The most interesting discovery is the difference in the use of *should* and *must*

between the two speakers. Blair uses *should* to express obligation more often than Bush, while Bush uses *must* to express obligation more often than Blair. As suggested earlier, this could indicate a difference in style between the two speakers. While Blair expresses obligation through advice, Bush gives orders.

In this study I have chosen to conduct a broad investigation of several elements which can have an effect on the interpersonal relationship between speaker and audience. This was felt to be necessary in order to answer whether or not persuasive discourse is a mere question of manipulative employment of rhetorical devices, or if the people we consider to be successful politicians are acting based on personal beliefs and convictions. Further research could conduct a deeper investigation of some of the rhetorical devices discussed in this thesis. For instance, the speeches are filled with conceptual metaphors and an extended investigation could shed more light on the individual speaker's beliefs and values. It could also be interesting to study the two speakers' use of rhetorical devices in a speech corpus which deals with a different subject matter. That could provide an answer as to whether this analysis shows the political style of the individual speakers, or simply the way they have decided to angle speeches concerning 11 September 2001 and the ensuing war on terror.

The Blair and Bush corpora are of a modest size. This has benefited the analyses of traditional rhetorical devices such as metaphors, three-part lists and contrastive pairs which are quite frequent. However, the analysis of modal auxiliaries would profit from a larger corpus. This is especially the case for the rare modals such as *may*, *might, shall* and *should*. A larger corpus would be able to provide more general findings based on a presumably larger number of instances of each modal. My study has shown exciting tendencies and it would be interesting to investigate whether the same tendencies would be found in a larger corpus. The modality

section could also have been expanded by including the modal meanings of marginal modals and metaphorical modality, which were excluded from my investigation because of the size of the thesis.

In conclusion, it is difficult to assess just how much of persuasion through language that is a result of manipulative use of rhetorical devices, and how much is a result of a burning desire to guide people based on a personal conviction. What can be concluded at this point is that both leaders are not merely politicians, but also men with personal convictions. The speeches in the two corpora are given by two men who express themselves as people through their role as politicians. These are men with a moral and ethical foundation based on the values of Christianity. They have a clear sense of what they believe is right and wrong, and try to justify their judgments and actions accordingly. Differences in cultural and historical background, as well as the differences in the interpersonal relationship between the speakers and their audiences are reflected in the two corpora.

This study has proven that the rhetorical styles of Blair and Bush are essentially different although they use many of the same devices. The strength of Tony Blair is his ability to share his thoughts with his audience. His use of questions invites the audience into his mind, where he guides the audience through the decisions he has made or will make, and shows how he has considered the pros and cons of possible actions (or in the case of Iraq, lack of action). The strength of George W. Bush is his ability to appeal to the American core values. Few countries can be described as more proud than the United States of America, and Bush takes advantage of this to the fullest; ‘America was targeted for attack because we're the brightest beacon for freedom and opportunity in the world (GWB 11.09.01)’. He appeals to the pride evoked in the aftermath of 11.september 2001 when the American people stood together

against a common enemy. The power of his rhetoric is founded on the dualism between us (America) and them (the enemy), and the belief that God is on the side of America.

The answer to what makes these two politicians persuasive may be the X-factor, which in terms of rhetoric best can be described as ethos, the speaker's personality and stance. Whether or not rhetoric is a device to express good values and beliefs, or merely a tool of manipulation has been argued upon since the early history of rhetoric (Cockcroft and Cockcroft 1992:20). While Plato was sceptical and described the rhetorician as 'speech-rigger' (logodaedalos), Quintilian claimed that 'no man can be a good orator unless he is a good man' (ibid.). This study cannot end the discussion, but it can conclude that both Tony Blair and George W. Bush are skilled rhetoricians, and if they have merely manipulated their way to persuasion, they may even have succeeded in manipulating themselves along the way.

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[44] More specific URLs are given in appendices 1 and 2.

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Front page picture is taken from:

http://www.spectator.co.nz/middle-east/ [Most recent access date: December 2007]

Appendix 1: The Blair corpus

	Speech		Word count
1	[TB 11.09.01]	Prime Minister Tony Blair statement in response to terrorist attacks in the United States [1]	460
2	[TB 14.09.01]	Prime Minister's statement to the House of Commons following the September 11 attacks[2]	1722
3	[TB 25.09.01]	Prime Minister's statement at 10 Downing Street[3]	756
4	[TB 07.10.01]	Prime Minister's statement on military action in Afghanistan[4]	1259
5	[TB 13.11.01]	Transcript of the Prime Minister's statement on Afghanistan[5]	603
6	[TB 14.11.01]	Prime Minister's statement to Parliament on the war on terror[6]	1894
7	[TB 10.09.02]	Prime Minister's speech to TUC conference in Blackpool[7]	2826
8	[TB 24.09.02]	Prime Minister's Iraq statement to Parliament[8]	1474
9	[TB 08.11.02]	PM statement on Iraq following UN Security Council resolution[9]	772
10	[TB 03.02.03]	Prime Minister's statement to Parliament following his meeting with President Bush[10]	1476
11	[TB 25.02.03]	Prime Minister statement on Iraq to House of Commons[11]	1839
12	[TB 18.03.03]	PM statement opening Iraq debate in Parliament[12]	4863
13	[TB 20.03.03]	Prime Minister's Address to the Nation[13]	671
14	[TB 18.07.03]	Prime Minister's speech to the United States Congress[14]	3290
15	[TB 14.12.03]	PM statement at Downing Street on Saddam Hussein[15]	560
16	[TB 05.03.04]	Prime Minister warns of continuing global terror threat[16]	4798
17	[TB 07.07.05]	Downing Street statement following terror attacks in London[17]	461
18	[TB 11.07.05]	Statement to Parliament on the London bombings[18]	1546
19	[TB 14.09.05]	Statement to United Nations Security Council on terrorism[19]	669
	Total		31939

[1] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1596.asp
[2] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1598.asp
[3] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1604.asp
[4] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1615.asp
[5] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1664.asp
[6] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1668.asp
[7] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1725.asp
[8] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1727.asp
[9] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page3206.asp
[10] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page1770.asp
[11] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page3088.asp
[12] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page3294.asp
[13] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page3327.asp
[14] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page4220.asp
[15] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page5006.asp
[16] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page5461.asp
[17] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page7858.asp
[18] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page7903.asp
[19] http://www.pm.gov.uk/output/Page8191.asp

Appendix 2: The Bush corpus

	Speech		Word count
1	[GWB 11.09.01]	Statement by the President in His Address to the Nation[1]	594
2	[GWB 07.10.01]	Presidential Address to the Nation[2]	971
3	[GWB 08.11.01]	President Discusses War on Terrorism[3]	2943
4	[GWB 10.11.01]	President Bush Speaks to United Nations[4]	2483
5	[GWB 11.12.01]	President: The World Will Always Remember September 11[5]	484
6	[GWB 06.06.02]	Remarks by the President in Address to the Nation[6]	1515
7	[GWB 11.09.02]	President's Remarks to the Nation[7]	906
8	[GWB 07.10.02]	President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat[8]	3350
9	[GWB 06.02.03]	President Bush: "World Can Rise to This Moment"[9]	1053
10	[GWB 01.03.03]	President's Radio Address[10]	621
11	[GWB 19.03.03]	President Bush Addresses the Nation[11]	581
12	[GWB 22.03.03]	President's Radio Address: President Discusses Beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom[12]	471
13	[GWB 07.09.03]	President Addresses the Nation[13]	2277
14	[GWB 23.09.03]	President Bush Addresses United Nations General Assembly[14]	2845
15	[GWB 14.12.03]	President Bush Addresses Nation on the Capture of Saddam Hussein[15]	500
16	[GWB 19.03.04]	President Bush Reaffirms Resolve to War on Terror, Iraq and Afghanistan[16]	2343
17	[GWB 10.05.04]	President Bush Reaffirms Commitments in Iraq[17]	1583
18	[GWB 07.12.05]	President Discusses War on Terror and Rebuilding Iraq[18]	4644
19	[GWB 18.12.05]	President's Address to the Nation[19]	2262
	Total		32426

[1] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/09/20010911-16.html
[2] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/10/20011007-8.html
[3] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011108-13.html
[4] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/11/20011110-3.html
[5] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2001/12/20011211-1.html
[6] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/06/20020606-8.html
[7] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/09/20020911-3.html
[8] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2002/10/20021007-8.html
[9] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/02/20030206-17.html#
[10] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030301.html
[11] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030319-17.html
[12] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/03/20030322.html
[13] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030907-1.html
[14] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/09/20030923-4.html
[15] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/12/20031214-3.html
[16] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/03/20040319-3.html
[17] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2004/05/20040510-3.html
[18] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051207-1.html
[19] http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2005/12/20051218-2.html